

Harvey Pekar
on Ronald
Reagan

PAGE 18

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 13, NO. 9

JAN. 18-24, 1989

\$1.25

BANNING the BOMBLESS



The haves and have-nots
of chemical and nuclear warfare

Diana Johnstone—page 3



Jack Kemp, this HUD's for you

By Salim Muwakkil

During a news conference called to announce his selection as the new secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY) decried the "appalling tragedy" of homelessness and declared he would wage war on poverty. The federal budget would not be balanced on the backs of the poor, he insisted. That rhetoric echoes the kinder, gentler themes of president-elect George Bush, but it also characterizes Kemp's political style. The nine-term congressman from Buffalo, N.Y., and former presidential candidate is noted for promoting what might be called "conservatism with a human face." He tirelessly advances the notion that a low-taxed, high-growth "opportunity society" has as much to offer minorities and the poor as it has well-to-do Republicans.

But Kemp's distaste for the tragedy of homelessness is not reflected in his voting record. The 53-year-old legislator has voted consistently to gut the budget of the agency he will soon lead. He even voted against the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, an initiative supported by Bush. In fact, had Kemp's arguments prevailed in the House, the HUD budget would have decreased even more drastically than it did during Ronald Reagan's tenure: from \$30 billion in 1980 to \$12.8 billion in 1989.

New visibility: Despite Kemp's dismal voting performance, housing activists generally are optimistic about his appointment as HUD chief. There are differences of

opinion about the value of Kemp's ideas, but most housing advocates agree that the former Republican presidential candidate's presence alone will bring much needed attention to housing issues. "Kemp's appointment is a real opportunity for the problem of housing to gain the kind of visibility it needs," says Andrea Hill, associate director of the National Low Income Housing Coalition. "By appointing someone as energetic and politically ambitious as Kemp, Bush obviously wants to give housing a high priority. After all, just about anything would be preferable to the silence and inactivity of the agency under Samuel Pierce's leadership."

Pierce was Reagan's only African-American cabinet officer and the only one to last throughout the president's two terms. Widely called "Silent Sam" because of his extraordinary lack of visibility in the Reagan administration, Pierce presided over the ravaging of HUD.

Kemp's voluble personality may resurrect the agency, but some observers don't expect much, even if he revitalizes HUD. "Kemp's appointment presents more dangers than opportunities," says John Atlas, president of the National Housing Institute, a research and advocacy group for low-income housing. "Bush won't be able to devote any new resources to HUD, so what are we left with? ... Wisdom from the Heritage Foundation."

Conservation agenda: Atlas predicts Kemp will push four major programs of the right-wing housing agenda: providing poor families with vouchers to pay rent in private housing instead of building new housing; developing free-enterprise zones, where the government gives tax breaks and regulatory relief to businesses that locate in blighted areas; allowing tenants to buy their apartments at reduced prices and interest rates; and cutting off federal housing funds to communities that have implemented rent control.

"There may be value in some of those approaches, but not very much," Atlas adds. "That conservative agenda has been tried and failed. But with Kemp at HUD we are going to go over it again. I think he will use HUD as a bully pulpit to push his right-wing ideology, just like William Bennett used the Department of Education. And for me that's not a reason for optimism."

A senior aide to Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) agrees with Atlas. "Kemp is not talking about new funding for new construction. He's talking the same old tune we've been hearing for eight years." In 1987-88 Dellums introduced in Congress the National Housing Act (see *In These Times*, Nov. 9, 1988) that promotes the conversion of private homes into various forms of social ownership. Both times the legislation failed.

But now, after years of Reaganomic inaction and a considerable shrinking of the low-income housing stock, Congress appears ready to finance new housing construction. The Bush administration, however, seems no more favorably disposed to that prospect than was its predecessor. Indeed, Bush has already ruled out any massive federal home building program. "You don't show your determination to solve a problem by simply increasing federal

spending," he told reporters at the news conference where he named Kemp secretary. "There are other ways to skin a cat." But Kemp hinted he would fight any further budget cuts at the agency. "I want it known that you cannot balance the budget off the backs of the poor (or) the housing budget."

Canny politics: Rep. Charles Schumer (D-NY), who regularly criticized Reagan's housing policies, says Kemp's statements give him hope. "I think an activist conservative will do more to help inner cities and poor people than a do-nothing moderate. We have had eight years of neglect."

Bush's choice of Kemp to head HUD was a canny political move. The president-elect was under fire from so-called "movement" conservatives for his Cabinet's moderate tenor, and Kemp's appointment cooled that protest. What's more, the former professional quarterback's idiosyncratic approach also has gained him fans from among groups that normally consider Republicans out-of-bounds. Thus Kemp's appointment also seems to reflect Bush's stated desire to be more responsive to minority communities. Kemp has co-sponsored tenant-ownership legislation with Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D-DC), enterprise zone legislation with Rep. Robert Garcia (D-NY), as well as tax reduction legislation with Sen. William Roth (R-DE). His political reach is considerable, and even those who disagree with his ideas respect his belief in them.

"He's got real ideas, and it will be interesting to see how they play out," says Chester Hartman, a housing policy expert at the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Policy Studies. "In the context of a conservative Republican administration, Kemp is about the best we could hope for. And although I have problems with some of his programs, there's no doubt he will improve on Pierce's performance," Hartman said.

Kemp's challenge: Last spring the National Housing Task Force—formed at the request of Sens. Alan Cranston (D-CA) and Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY)—released a report

INSIDE STORY

urging a renewed federal commitment to increase the availability of decent affordable housing. The report found, among other things, the following:

- Since 1973, 4.5 million units of low-income housing have disappeared from the nation's inventory. The homeless are the most visible manifestation of this extraordinary loss of low-income housing stock.

- The private sector alone can't provide the poor with adequate housing, so federal housing assistance is a necessity.

- Public housing projects are afflicted by the "domestic terrorism" of drugs, crime and neglect of the infrastructure.

- Some existing housing programs are effective and can be expanded and made even more efficient.

"These issues alone are more than enough to fill the agenda of the secretary-designate," wrote David Maxwell, vice chairman of the National Housing Task Force in a recent Op-Ed article in the *Washington Post*. "Kemp can rest assured as he tackles his new job that he'll have many allies who view his appointment as a signal that housing will count in the Bush administration."

Hartman believes Kemp's political ambitions and intellectual conceits will fuel a much more activist HUD—"he wants nothing but successes on his resume"—and may surprise those who see nothing but gloom ahead in the Bush years.

White House and greenhouse

Next week *In These Times* continues its special three-part investigation into the greenhouse effect with Part Two: the Reagan administration's scorched-earth policy. The series, by noted environmental writer Dick Russell, began in last week's issue.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Will HUD's Kemp be a pleasant surprise?	2
Banning the bombless—the politics of chemical weapons	3
In Short	4
D.C. Mayor Marion Barry's racial teflon	6
California—the insurance industry's ire	7
Black America—in search of a new consensus	9
Congress—should the U.S. give back land stolen from Sioux? ..	10
A new battle in Quebec's <i>guerre des mots</i>	11
Send money!	12
Editorial	14
Letters Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: Hirohito's life as an institution	16
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn	17
Life in the U.S.: Pekar reviews the outgoing president	18
Sharing the economic pie—the big picture	19
In Print: <i>Tikkun</i> offers a homeland to wandering Jewish left	20
The rubble of <i>The Reagan Legacy</i>	20
E.P. Thompson's alien nations	21
Classifieds Life in Hell	23
National Anthems and the play of contradictions	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1989 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 13, No. 9) published Jan. 18, 1989, for newsstand sales Jan. 18-24, 1989.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

LAST WEEK'S INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON chemical weapons here was a milestone in the shift from an East-West to a North-South division of the planet. It was designed by the Reagan administration, which came up with the idea, not so much to advance the outlawing of chemical weapons as the outlawing of Third World states the U.S. does not control.

The accusations against Libya for building a chemical weapons plant—whether true or false—were part of that design.

The significance of the Paris conference was related to the following major developments in the chemical weapons problem:

- the U.S. program to build binary chemical weapons as part of its "Airland Battle" strategy for missile-borne chemical weapons against Third World adversaries;

- ongoing Geneva negotiations on a worldwide ban of production and stocking of chemical weapons that only recently seemed close to success; and

- the recent massive use of chemical weapons by Iraq.

All three developments were obscured by the Paris conference. The U.S. used the Paris conference to divert attention from a comprehensive ban to stopping "proliferation" of chemical weapons. Certainly, the Iraq example raised the problem of getting everybody to adhere to an eventual agreement. However, the U.S. raised this problem in a discriminatory way, putting it in terms not of the necessary universality of a worldwide ban, but of depriving a particular category of countries of chemical industry.

A message for the media: The Paris conference, unlike the Geneva negotiations, was a media event. The U.S. is more skilled at setting the agenda for the media than at constructive diplomacy. Even though most journalists try to write honest reports, the tone is set by insider editorialists and columnists who play up the themes provided by the administration.

In his Paris speech, Secretary of State George Shultz stressed preventing the spread of chemical weapons to "terrorist groups" or to governments "known to sponsor terrorism." He also referred to President-elect George Bush's statement that guilty nations must "pay a price." The U.S. Navy fighters that shot down two Libyan planes off the coast of Libya demonstrated what he might mean.

The same message was delivered more clearly by the U.S. No.1 ally, Israel. Foreign Minister Moshe Arens said a final chemical weapons ban might take "several years at the least." For the "interim," he suggested "actions which do not require lengthy procedures." First was a ban on chemical agents—called precursors—that can be used in chemical weapons manufacturing, as well as a "ban on export of know-how."

Arens further suggested strengthening the authority of the United Nations secretary general for on-the-spot investigation so "world public opinion would be able to react." Asked what form such reaction might take, Arens said that "in democratic countries, there is no significant difference between public opinion and the action taken by the government. When informed, public opinion will catalyze the government into action." This sums up the Shultz-Israeli approach. The "democratic countries" with the



Last year an Iranian clergyman (left) and Revolutionary Guard (right) visited the war front investigating purported Iraqi use of chemical weapons.

U.S. arms formulas brew chemical imbalance

requisite military power—meaning the U.S. and Israel—are to "punish" culprits in response to their own domestic "public opinion." But as the latest uproar over Libya illustrated, "public opinion" is created by the administration, which directs the indignation of the media toward countries it wants to bully.

And now the history: Imperial Germany, the leading chemical power of its time, initiated the use of poison gas on the World War I battlefield in April 1915. In pre-nuclear times, gas was the most horrifying weapon of mass destruction. In 1925 the Geneva Protocol banned its use in wartime. But production and stocking were not banned, and many signatories—including the U.S.—"reserved the right" to use gas in retaliation.

This reservation undermines the ban, inasmuch as any country that uses gas can accuse the other side of using it first.

In classical ground battle, poison gas can blow back on the forces that use it. (Which can explain how a few Iraqi soldiers were also apparent casualties of gas in the Gulf War.) This may be why none of the belligerents in World War II initiated battlefield use of chemical weapons. The Nazis reserved the use of gas for secret extermination of civilians, especially millions of defenseless Jews.

Battlefield chemical weapons were nevertheless developed, produced and

stored during World War II. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union inherited stocks of unused German chemical weapons and went on to build arsenals of their own. Laboring under Leonid Brezhnev's delusion that the Soviet Union was as big as its arsenals, the USSR went on making them in the '70s, when the U.S. was stopping. This was a stupid mistake, which the present Soviet leadership acknowledges and regrets.

In the Vietnam War the U.S. made massive use of new kinds of chemical weapons that only indirectly attacked people and therefore, it could be argued, were not the sort of chemical weapons outlawed by the Geneva Protocol. Instead the chemicals used

At the international conference last week on chemical weapons, the U.S. and France found themselves on the defensive, accused of blocking a possible worldwide chemical weapons ban.

against the Vietnamese were defoliants that destroyed the ecosystem. They were weapons of ecocide rather than genocide—although the line may be thin, considering the dioxin left behind and the lasting damage to life systems.

After a long pause, the U.S. renewed chemical weapon production in December 1987. The Reagan administration decision to produce a "new generation" of binary chemical weapons seems to have been dictated by two factors: perfection of the technological capacity to make binaries, that is, weapons which keep two relatively harmless substances separated until actual use, thus making them safer to store than earlier chemical weapons; and the development, growing out of the Vietnam experience, of a capacity for long-distance military strikes on Third World countries unable to strike back.

Thus from the start the binaries were probably designed for use in the Third World rather than on the European battlefield. However, to win consent from Congress, the Pentagon had to give two standard justifications: a chemical weapons capacity was necessary to deter enormous Soviet chemical forces, and the new binaries would be "bargaining chips" in negotiations for worldwide abolition of chemical weapons.

Thus promotion of the binary program was coupled with declared efforts to further the Geneva negotiations for a worldwide ban. For a while American binary enthusiasts could count on the Russians to block a successful chemical disarmament agreement by their suspicious reluctance to allow on-the-spot inspection.

The situation changed dramatically in 1987 when the new Soviet leadership under

Continued on page 8

IN THESE TIMES JAN. 18-24, 1989 3

INSHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

North gets away

In late December six current Reagan administration officials got together and decided not to release key evidence to the special prosecutor who is investigating wrongdoing by five former Reagan administration officials. A conflict of interest? No, a question of national security. At least that is what Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, National Security Adviser Colin Powell, CIA Director William Webster and National Security Agency Director William Studemann would have us believe. The six officials cited security concerns in their recent decision to deny Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh the classified documents he needed to prosecute Lt. Col. Oliver North, the first of five former administration officials to face trial in the Iran-Contra case. That decision forced the independent counsel to drop two of the 14 charges facing North.

Hook, line and sinker. A source involved in the North case told *These Times* that he was "surprised" the media had not raised more of a fuss over this apparent conflict of interest. Yes, one would have thought the administration's use of a national security escape clause and the resulting derailment of the Iran-contra investigation might be cause for outcry. After all, Reagan administration officials have spent eight years plugging one official lie upon another. Who could believe them now? The *New York Times* R.W. Apple Jr. for one. He wrote: "It was suggested, though not very widely in Washington political circles, that Mr. Reagan's minions had decided on this classification not on national security grounds but to force Mr. Walsh to give up. The reason that this conspiracy theory got short shrift was simple: Had they got the slightest wind of such an operation, both Judge Gerhard Gesell, a crusty old New Dealer, and Mr. Walsh, a tough nut who has invested his time and his considerable reputation in this case, would surely have blown the whistle." Though colorful prose, Apple's reasoning is tenuous. If these six top Reagan officials had conspired to short-circuit the Iran-contra investigation, would they allow that news to reach anyone other than the president or president-elect? Of course not. Unfortunately, Apple's blind acceptance of the administration line was the media norm. A notable exception was his colleague at the *Times*, Linda Greenhouse, who summed up the situation this way: "The administration's stance was inherently suspect for the obvious reason that both the departing president and the incoming one had nothing to gain from a trial that threatened to dissect a mortifying foreign policy debacle. The failure of the North prosecution raises questions about whether the independent counsel is sufficiently independent to handle a politically explosive case. The independent counsel, contrary to theory, proved this time to have to answer to the president's men. The president himself still has to answer to history."

Par for the course

New documents indicate that FBI Director William Sessions, successor to current CIA Director William Webster, misled Congress last September on the extent of the bureau's investigation of U.S. dissidents. Ross Gelbspan of the *Boston Globe* reports that documents recently released to former FBI agent Frank Varella under a Freedom of Information Act request substantiate Varella's charges about FBI surveillance of U.S. citizens and American organizations that disagree with U.S. policy in Central America. From 1981 to 1984 Varella, based in Dallas, was one of two men who coordinated the bureau's probe of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Varella's recently released 2,400-page FBI file is packed with interesting information. For example:

- Sessions and others in the FBI have repeatedly maintained that Varella is an unreliable informant. It now appears that after Varella went public with his charges of FBI misconduct, the bureau altered the results of a polygraph test he had previously passed.

- In September, Sessions told Congress that the FBI's domestic spying operations were due to "mistakes in judgment" and "lax management" on the part of FBI field supervisors. But at least one supervisor realized what he was getting into. A handwritten note on one of the newly released documents reads: "Stress... that we're all going to be writing depositions for the litigious vampires at the next swing of the pendulum."

- Varella charges that he helped fill the FBI's "terrorist photo



Reilly given environmental portfolio

"Businesses can meet their social responsibility and benefit greatly by integrating the support of conservation into their commercial strategies." So wrote World Wildlife Fund (WWF) President William Reilly, the new administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), in the introduction to a WWF brochure titled "Conservation and Business Sponsorship."

According to the pamphlet, "Pan Am and WWF teamed up to create this attention-grabbing message: 'Pan Am can show you the world today. World Wildlife Fund makes sure you can see the same world tomorrow.'"

For its part, WWF has become the fastest growing conservation organization in the U.S., tripling its budget and doubling its membership in Reilly's three-year tenure as president. Now, as EPA administrator, Reilly will both retain his environmentalist mantle and vastly expand his opportunities to serve industry.

Corporations like Chevron have been well served by an identification with WWF. The brochure reports, "Chevron Corporation found WWF's 'Future in the Wild' program an ideal way to increase its identity among families nationwide."

And the Cooperative Bank of Concord, Mass., kicked off a new investment account with the curious slogan, "An investment account to make all others extinct." Mutual of Omaha, Ralph Lauren, Rolex and Jaguar have all teamed up with the WWF to tap into conservation's "popular appeal" and "enormous audience."

Who is William Reilly, and what

does he stand for? First, he's no Anne Gorsuch Burford or James Watt. Debonair Reilly has none of the sleazy and abrasive qualities of Reagan's early environmental appointees. But, like Bush, he is more at home talking corporate responsibility with captains of industry than leading the victims of toxic spills in the battle for appropriate recourse.

In 1987, for instance, he hosted a conference on alternatives to chlorofluorocarbons—the chemical agents that destroy the Earth's ozone layer. This concern did not, however, prevent him from flying to Europe on the supersonic Concorde—also believed to be harmful to the ozone.

Since 1973 Reilly has been president of the Conservation Foundation, a Washington-based environmental think tank. This group has published booklets, convened conferences and hosted "dispute resolution" sessions. While the organization prides itself on its "moderate" and "responsible" positions, many environmentalists consider it an industry front. One reason is that the Conservation Foundation is heavily indebted to industry coffers. Its list of corporate sponsors is a shocking catalog of environmental wasters — Du Pont, Dow, Exxon, Monsanto and General Electric.

Samuel P. Hays writes in his book *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* that the Conservation Foundation forms a fifth column within U.S. society, claiming neutrality and objectivity while advancing industry efforts to delay or oppose regulation. The foundation has supported deregulation, the use of cost-benefit and risk analyses and regulations that gain industry compliance through incentives rather than penalties.

Last September the chairmen of 16 congressional committees and

subcommittees sent a letter to EPA administrator Lee Thomas asking him not to grant the Conservation Foundation a contract for a two-year study of the EPA's Superfund program. The 16 Congress members were concerned about reports that the foundation was planning to supplement the EPA's \$2.5 million payment for the project with money solicited from a coalition of chemical and insurance companies. They wrote, "If this occurs, there will be questions of undue influence and bias which will undermine the credibility of a costly research effort."

In 1985 the Conservation Foundation and the WWF consummated a merger that made Reilly head of both. From their opulent headquarters in two floors of a building in Washington's fashionable West End, Reilly has led what he calls the environmental movement's "third wave." He believes that strict regulatory penalties and deadlines—derisively called "command and control regulations" by his industry-minded protégés—have outlived their usefulness.

"Industry knows these [environmental] laws aren't going away," Reilly told the *Los Angeles Times*. "And environmentalists have come to realize that it's going to take cooperation from industry to get the laws working." According to this view, less adversarial approaches, like soliciting cooperation rather than demanding compliance, are more successful. Environmentalists, Reilly believes, should spend less time protesting, boycotting and screaming and more time exploring the "costs" and "benefits" of various "options."

World Wildlife's fundraising brochure concludes, "Ask our staff for a detailed presentation on how your company's activities could be enhanced by linking up with conserva-

tion." If Reilly's offer to advance corporate interests through his environmentalist credentials still holds good

as administrator of the EPA, he could cause as much damage as his Reagan-appointed predecessors—

and with less public opposition.

—John Green

Pinochet's going out of business sale

Gen. Augusto Pinochet's 57-to-43 percent defeat in October's Chilean plebiscite has prompted the dictator to push for increased privatization of the economy. Pinochet has put eight largely profitable state-owned companies on the block—the national oil company, the national mining company, the national marine transport company, Santiago's subway system, Chile Films, two large regional electric utilities and the national insurance institute.

The government press office says Pinochet "has decided that a series of important factors have come together to create the optimum environment in which to sell the state-owned enterprises." The 16-party opposition disagrees, but is powerless to stop the sale.

This current wave of privatization is the third to hit Chile since the Nixon administration overthrew democratically elected president Salvador Allende in 1973. From 1974 to 1978, the government privatized

259 industrial concerns and 10 banks, resulting in a new concentration of wealth. But despite its original pledge to "eliminate" state-owned property, the junta resisted selling "strategic" enterprises.

During the recession of 1982-84, government economists had to swallow their rhetoric. The "Chicago Boys," as they are known in Chile for their adhesion to the economic fancies of former University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman, were forced to bail out several bankrupt banks and enterprises.

In 1984 the government resumed privatizing national industries, including those it had just bailed out. Private hands grabbed up more than \$1.2 billion in assets as 21 communications, energy, mining and steel companies underwent varying degrees of privatization. The typical buyer was a multinational corporation with ties to members of the local economic elite.

This helps explain why so many multinationals have shown up in Chile in recent years. Bankers Trust of New York, unknown in Chile a few

years ago, now owns part of 13 companies. Aetna Insurance of Hartford, Conn., participates in six Chilean companies.

In the world economy, steel and energy are reliable indicators as to who wields economic power. Several of Chile's steel and energy firms, once considered too strategic to sell, are now the object of privatization. When traditional producers such as the U.S. and Europe saw their steel output fall in the '80s, many assumed Third World nations filled the power vacuum. But—as will be the case in Chile—it is multinational corporations, not the countries themselves, that fill the vacuum.

The selling frenzy will continue at least until the December elections, when an unlikely coalition of 16 parties covering the entire political spectrum will have to unify in order to defeat the 72-year-old general's designated candidate. This is the first step in preventing the loss of industries that, according to Hortensia Bussi, Allende's widow, has "taken the Chilean people years to build."

—Kevin O'Donnell

Old Red dogs won't learn new Soviet tricks

WEST BERLIN—Fast Germany, whose aging leaders are increasingly busy heading off *glasnost* and *perestroika*, is not likely to have fresh blood flow in its ruling Communist Party until at least 1990. Rumors of the impending resignation of state and party chief Erich Honecker, 76, fueled by public spats with Moscow over liberalization have been quashed by the announcement of a May 1990 party congress with Honecker as key speaker.

That news was released from a year-end meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), East Germany's ruling party. The December session also produced warmed-over Cold War tirades against the West and a new batch of thinly veiled rejections of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov's economic and political reforms.

Honecker's reconfirmation as SED general secretary and chairman of the council of state—posts he has held since 1971 and 1976, respectively—came in the wake of an ideological battle with Moscow.

In November East Germany banned the Soviet magazine *Sputnik* for an article that partially blamed the late Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin for Adolf Hitler's rise to power. Also banned were several Soviet films dealing with the Stalin era—a formative period for many Communists now in ranking positions in the SED. The SED daily *Neues Deutschland* (New Germany) blasted *Sputnik* for "insulting" German Communists and

for violating the East German constitution by "the excusing, the cleansing of Hitler."

The *Sputnik* article blamed Stalin for splitting opposition to Hitler by ordering European Communists to quit their membership in anti-fascist fronts. The article said Stalin issued the command after the Soviet non-aggression pact with Germany in 1939.

Honecker, who spent 10 years in prison under the Nazis, must have been upset about the implication that Communists had helped Hitler, whose defeat plays a prominent part in East German state ideology.

At the December Central Committee meeting Honecker dismissed the furor at home and in West Germany surrounding the *Sputnik* ban as the "moans and cries of philistines gone wild," philistines who were trying to rewrite Soviet history in a "bourgeois manner."

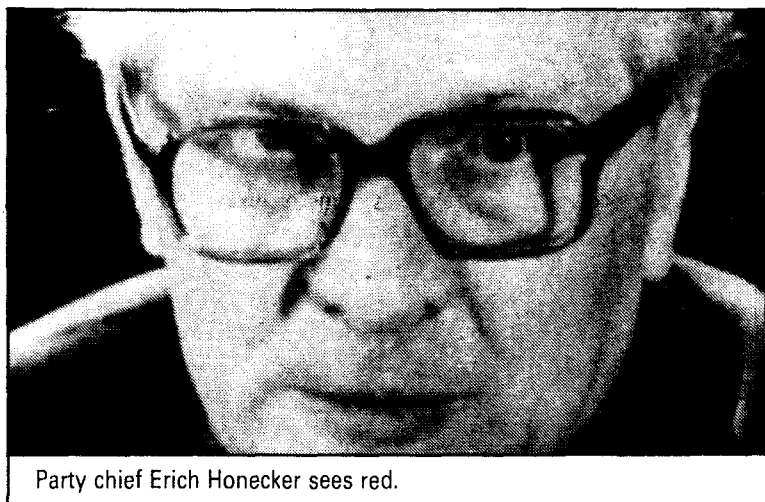
Honecker used traditional rhetoric to say good things about the Soviet reforms, that they would "strengthen world socialism and secure peace." But he also distanced himself from Moscow. "We have

never considered copying to be a substitute for the necessity of our own theoretical thinking and practical action," he told the 165-member Central Committee. He warned against the Soviet Union's "little friends" in the West who were telling the SED to "march into anarchy."

Backing for this conservative line came from Potsdam delegate Guenter Jahn, who said, "A socialist democracy that would offer space and playroom to the enemies of socialism and anti-democrats would be suicidal."

And a thoroughly unreformed Cold War note was sounded by East German Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, who used Gorbachov's East-West rapprochement phrase "a common European home" to justify the continued existence of the Berlin Wall and the militarized border to West Germany. "Don't houses have supporting walls?" Fischer asked. "Supporting walls—they are to be compared with secure state borders." And, it seems, in East Germany so are secure party lines.

—Marcus Kabel



Party chief Erich Honecker sees red.

album" with, among others, the names and mug shots of U.S. senators and representatives who opposed administration policy. The FBI denies that it catalogued members of Congress as terrorists. And while admitting such an album did exist, the FBI downplays its significance. But according to one document, the FBI "has compiled over 1,000 photos of individuals known to have participated in leftist activities in El Salvador and the U.S. [The] Dallas [field office] will periodically supply pertinent photos and background to the bureau...for inclusion into the Terrorist Photograph Album."

● Varelli has testified that he went to El Salvador at the request of the FBI to open communications with the Salvadoran national guard. Varelli says that on his return, he gave the FBI a list that contained the names of more than 700 Salvadoran leftists—a list that was compiled by El Salvador's national guard, the Ministry of Defense and the death squads. Sessions has never told Congress of any contact the FBI has had with the government of El Salvador. However one of the documents released to Varelli is a 1981 letter Sessions wrote to various U.S. agencies, including the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the State Department, the U.S. Secret Service, the U.S. Customs Service and "perhaps the CIA," according to the *Globe's* Gelbspan. Most of that letter is blacked out, but the final paragraph is legible. Sessions writes: "All receiving agencies are requested to conduct name checks on all potential victims [and advise the FBI of their results]." Varelli told the *Globe* that the "potential victims" referred to in the letter include some of the names on the "hit lists" he brought back from El Salvador.

Team spirit

The hooded executioner of yesteryear is gone, along with the scaffold and block. In his place, at least in the U.S., is the "death-watch team." American University Professor Robert Johnson recently spent some time with such a team at an unnamed prison in an unnamed state. He reports his findings in the January 13 *Commonweal* magazine. The job of the death-watch team, says a prison administrator, is to make sure the state-sanctioned killing is a "proper, professional, dignified undertaking...done the way it's supposed to be done—without any sensation." The team leader is the man responsible for making sure the execution goes smoothly. As past experience has taught him, that takes practice. "The execution team is a nine-officer team and each one has certain things to do," he tells *Commonweal*, explaining that the process of electrocuting a person is broken down into very small steps "so people won't get confused. I've learned it's kind of a tense time. When you're executin' a person, killin' a person—you call it killin', executin', the man dies anyway—I find the less you got on your mind, why, the better you carry it out." Each man on the team is a specialist. Says one officer: "My assignment is the leg piece. Right leg. I roll his pants' leg up, place a piece [electrode] on his leg, strap his leg in... I've got all the moves down pat." The death-watch team begins its work 24 hours before the execution. The members' objective is to keep the prisoner alive and "on schedule." Or as one team member puts it, "to get the man ready to go." There is the last meal to get through. Most condemned men have little appetite. Then the prisoner puts all his worldly possessions in a box. These are inventoried. One team member explains that this is the point when to begin watching the condemned prisoner closely, since the execution is now "picking up momentum, and we don't want to lose control of the situation." The prisoner is then stripped to his underpants, handcuffed and his head and right leg shaved to facilitate electrocution and minimize burning. The team encircles him to make sure he behaves. As one death-watch officer says, "Come eight o'clock [three hours before execution time], we've got a dead man. Eight o'clock is when we shave the man. We take his identity; it goes with the hair." The prisoner is then showered and dressed in a white cotton garment, held together with velcro—metal buttons and zippers burn the flesh and cause an unpleasant odor. The victim is now ready to die. Johnson, who witnessed an execution for his report, describes what he saw: "The execution team worked with machine precision. Like a disciplined swarm, they enveloped him. Arms, legs, stomach, chest and head were secured in a matter of seconds. Electrodes were attached to the cap holding his head and to the strap holding his exposed right leg. A leather mask was placed over his face...The mask, made entirely of leather, appeared soiled and worn...The faceless man breathed before us...His last act was to swallow, nervously, pathetically, with his Adam's apple bobbing."

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

LAST YEAR, REV. HAZEL CASSELL ESTABLISHED a local reputation as a psychic by predicting that Rev. Jesse Jackson would not become president or vice president. Now this year, according to a front page story in the *Washington Afro-American*, she is predicting that "there will be an international drug scandal involving the [Marion] Barry administration [that] will reveal more involvement with drugs than has been reported." Rev. Cassell knows a safe bet when she sees one.

Three-term Mayor Marion Barry, an acclaimed civil rights leader in the '60s and '70s and a successful first-term mayor, now stands at the helm of one of the most corrupt, inept and scandal-prone administrations in America. Barry is leading the city's blacks and whites into a political abyss.

Each new scandal follows a predictable course. Initially, both whites and blacks react with anger and derision toward the mayor. But as the city's white voters clamor more insistently for Barry's removal, the city's blacks become increasingly defensive. The city's blacks see the drumbeat against Barry as part of a white strategy—dubbed "the plan" in black neighborhoods—to restore Washington to white rule. Buttressed by a wave of black support, Barry survives the scandal, and the political relationship between the city's whites and blacks grows increasingly acrimonious.

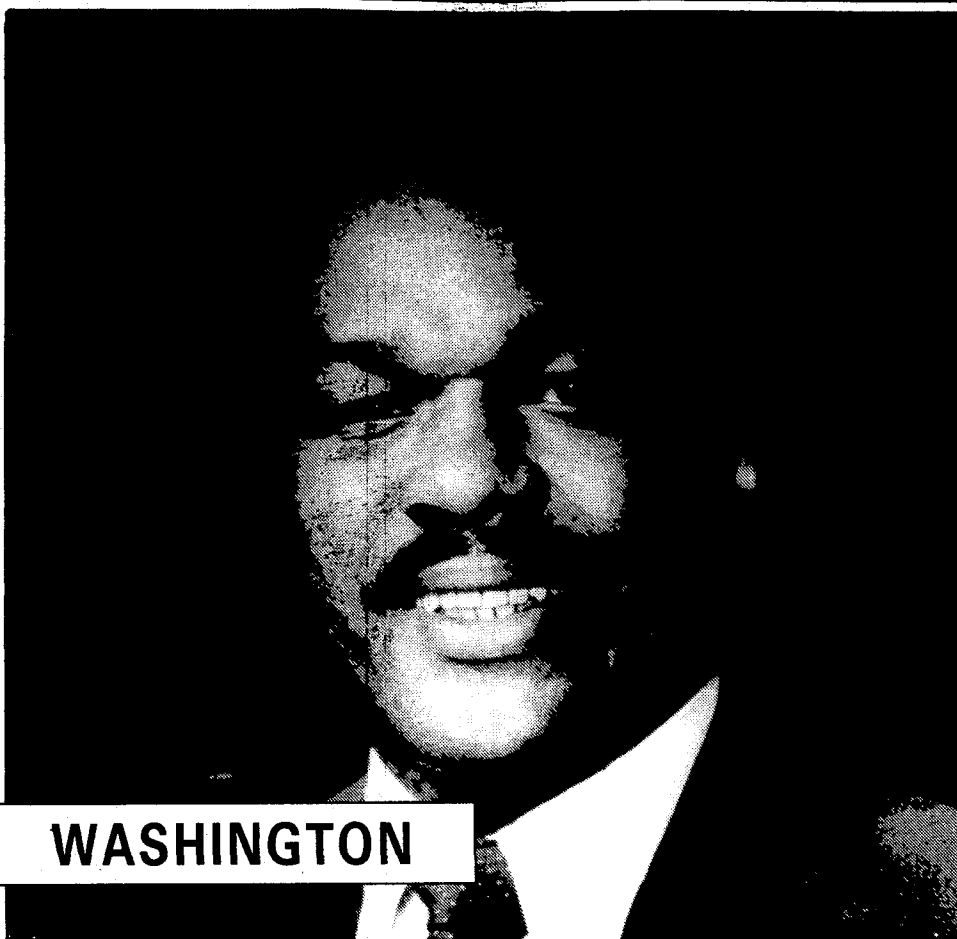
Barry's performance has significantly affected the district's power to govern itself. As occurred last fall, Congress is not only carefully scrutinizing the district's budget, but overturning those laws that it disapproves of—something that would be politically impossible under a respected mayor. Congress and popular opinion outside Washington have also turned decisively against statehood for the district. Even though the District of Columbia has a larger population than Alaska, Vermont and Wyoming, D.C. statehood will not be a viable political issue, let alone achievable, until the memory of Barry has faded—perhaps well into the 21st century.

Cocaine dealing: The most recent scandal began on December 22, when two undercover detectives went to a Ramada Inn to follow up on a report that one of the hotel's guests, Charles Lewis, had offered a maid cocaine in return for sexual favors. As the detectives were speeding toward the hotel, the mayor had just veered from his official schedule to visit Lewis in his hotel room. For reasons that remain mysterious, the two detectives, who had planned to stage a drug purchase from Lewis, were called back to the station. Police didn't enter Lewis' room until the next day, when they found traces of cocaine.

The incident raised questions about Barry's drug use—some wondered if the mayor himself had gone to Lewis' room for a snort—and about whether the mayor and his aides had obstructed justice by calling off the detectives. It also raised questions about Lewis' unusual financial relationship with Barry and the city government.

Lewis, a former D.C. Personnel Department worker, was hired in 1987 as a consultant to Virgin Islands Gov. Alexander Farrelly. Lewis arranged a \$260,000 contract with the department to design a personnel merit system for the Virgin Islands. During

6 IN THESE TIMES JAN. 18-24, 1989



Mayor Marion Barry: from success to scandal in three uneasy terms.

D.C.'s Marion Barry, his dishonor the mayor

the winter of 1988, D.C. workers spent 55 expense-paid days in the Caribbean. The mayor and leading officials stayed at \$500-a-night hotels and charged expensive purchases at a gift shop, including a \$500 dress for the girlfriend of a Personnel Department lawyer. Meanwhile, the department failed to deliver on several city projects that were due in the winter and spring.

His honor in doubt, Barry blames others for Washington's mess and his own peccadillos.

After Farrelly became aware last April of how Lewis was spending the Islands' money, he fired him. Lewis then registered at the Ramada Inn as a Virgin Islands employee, with his tab picked up by a D.C. city official. A Washington grand jury is now investigating both the Ramada Inn incident and the Virgin Islands contract.

Shell Oil vacation: Barry's administration has been plagued by scandal since Christmas 1981, when police reported the mayor using cocaine at a downtown strip joint. Since then, 11 city officials, including two deputy mayors, have been convicted for corruption, and 11 others have been forced to resign.

Barry has been frequently linked to drugs. In 1984, D.C. employee Karen Johnson—with whom Barry admitted having a "personal relationship"—went to jail for selling cocaine and for refusing to tell a grand jury whether she had sold it to Barry. Called back before a grand jury in 1987, she reportedly admitted that Barry had bought cocaine from her "20

or 30 times" and that contractors with ties to Barry had paid her \$25,000 not to testify against him the first time.

Barry has also become increasingly arrogant. In 1987, he refused to return from the Super Bowl when the city was paralyzed by a two-foot snowfall. "Why should I give up my vacation to oversee the removal of snow from the streets?" he asked. Last November, he spent the last week of the presidential election on a visit to the Bahamas attending a golf tournament sponsored by Royal Dutch Shell—the object of an anti-apartheid boycott. On the Sunday before the election, Barry, the chairman of Michael Dukakis' campaign in Washington, attacked the Democratic presidential candidate and predicted that George Bush would win.

Barry has tried to deflect scandal first by blaming underlings. When confronted with Lewis' reported drug dealings, he lashed out at the maid. "I think it's dangerous to take an allegation of a maid who may be here illegally," Barry said. When this tactic fails, Barry invariably tries to raise the specter of the "white plan" to oust him, which he often attributes to the *Washington Post* or white City Council Chairman David Clarke. In one radio interview Barry warned that, under district law, if he were to resign "Clarke does become the mayor."

Rampant bureaucracy: Barry's administration has had its bright moments. During the mayor's first term, he erased a substantial deficit. Barry also initiated a successful summer job program for the district's teenagers and a tenant-assistance program that subsidizes rents for lower-income Washingtonians. But however well-intentioned, many of the city's social programs have turned into bureaucratic boondoggles that have enriched city officials, but had little effect on

the constituencies they were supposed to serve.

The city has the highest ratio of public employees to city residents—one to thirteen—of any city or state. According to the *Washington Monthly*, the city spends double the national average to deliver a welfare check, and only one state has more administrators per teacher. The city's housing authority is notoriously overstaffed and inefficient, employing almost twice as many maintenance workers per apartment as recommended by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). These maintenance workers have spent at least 15 percent of their time fixing administrators' offices rather than the city's decrepit public housing. While almost 13,000 citizens wait for public housing, city-owned apartments in need of repair lie vacant. The Washington government has had to return millions to HUD that it failed to spend before deadlines.

Homeless advocate Mitch Snyder recently took the city to court for failing to live up to a 1984 initiative that instructed the city to provide decent overnight housing for the homeless. In a special weekend session, an angry judge ruled that the city's program was "so inadequate and so inept" that the court had to "step in with an extraordinary remedy." The court ordered the city to open new shelters immediately and to clean up the rat- and lice-infested shelters.

The city's program did not fail because of lack of money, but because of bureaucratic ineptitude and corruption. According to a TV report, clean church shelters are run at half the cost. The city has also contracted out shelters at exorbitant prices to administration cronies.

Snyder is currently threatening to begin a recall campaign against the mayor. Such a campaign may provide Snyder's activists with a way to express their displeasure, but it will only solidify Barry's support in the black community. "Mitch Snyder is the best thing that could ever happen to Marion Barry," says Alvin Thornton, a professor of political science at Howard University. "All Barry needs is a vocal white opponent asking for his recall."

Wrongs don't make a white: After a few days of disillusionment during the Ramada Inn incident, Washington's black community has already begun to rally behind Barry. Lillian Wiggins, columnist for the weekly *Washington Informer*, took offense at one council member's suggestion that Barry take a drug test. "Her remarks," Wiggins wrote, "inflamed an already inflammable situation. I have always maintained that, like other Americans, black Americans are entitled to be innocent until proven guilty."

In an editorial, the *Washington Afro-American* warned that "the race-baiters are coming out in their long white sheets and the media is joining the fray." Barry, the editorial declared, "hasn't been convicted of anything and nothing has been proven except that the media can make or break you. The game plan seems to be to push Barry to the brink where he either resigns before the end of his term or he can't run again. Haven't you heard? D.C. is going to have a white mayor the next time around and Barry is in the way."

Thornton sums up the situation this way: "As bad as Barry might be, the average black voter will turn a blind eye to some of the things Marion is doing if they think the next mayor is going to be white." □

By Paul Rauber

SAN FRANCISCO

HELL HAS NO FURY LIKE A MAJOR AMERICAN industry scorned. Last November California voters repudiated a \$70 million campaign by the insurance industry and passed Proposition 103, a comprehensive auto insurance reform initiative backed by consumer advocate Ralph Nader and an organization called Voter Revolt. The swift and immediate retaliation of the industry gave Californians a small taste of the economic havoc that major corporations traditionally inflict on any new revolution—if rarely in their own backyard.

Within minutes of the opening of the San Francisco county clerk's office on November 9, four lawsuits challenging the constitutionality of Prop. 103 were filed, with seven more following later that same day. Fifty insurance companies announced that they were either pulling out of the state or refusing to write any new policies. By November 11 three-quarters of the state's insurance companies had joined the boycott, which ended only when the California Supreme Court temporarily halted implementation of the measure, and Democratic legislators threatened massive fines against the offending companies. "If they're retaliating against the voters," warned state Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti, "we will retaliate against them."

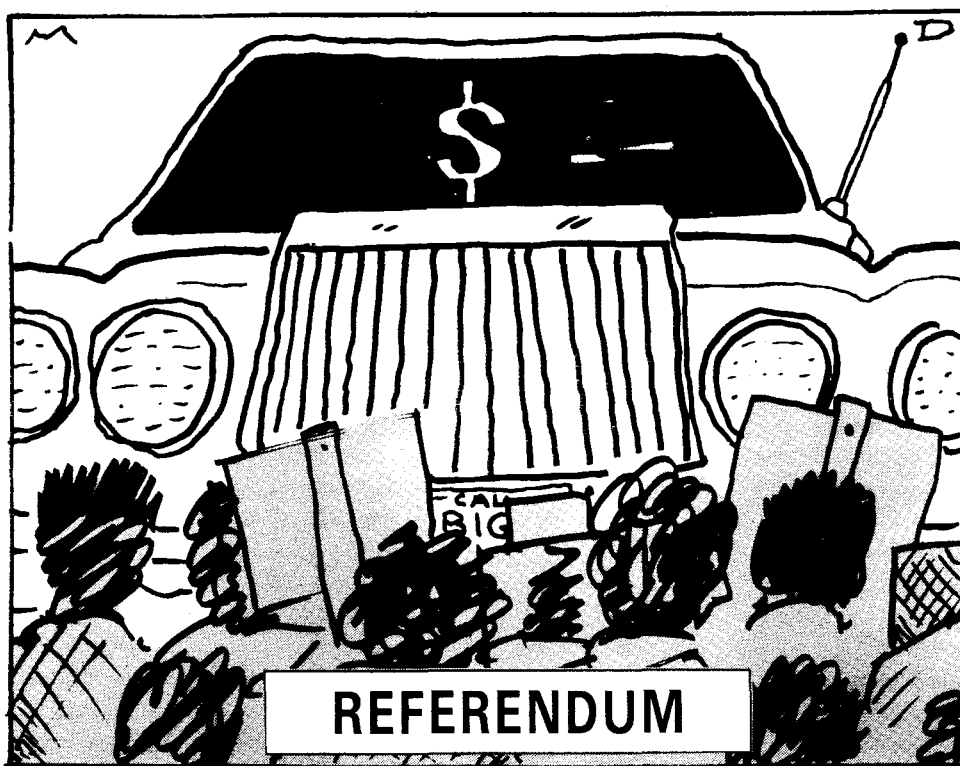
Pain and suffering: The cause of the industry's fury, Prop. 103 was itself the result of widespread voter anger at skyrocketing auto insurance rates, particularly in urban areas. The bad blood began with the "insurance crisis" of 1984, when huge rate increases forced the closure of day care centers and swimming pools across the state. (For a supposedly ailing industry, California's insurance companies quickly recovered, tallying record profits of \$12.7 billion in 1986.)

In spring of 1986 voters passed the industry-sponsored Proposition 51, which limited plaintiffs' ability to collect "pain and suffering" damages. Prop. 51 was supposed to lower rates, but consumers saw little relief. The backlash began last March, when California joined seven other states in an anti-trust suit against the insurance companies, alleging in part that they had conspired to manufacture the crisis of 1984.

With the third highest auto premiums in the country, California consumers were ripe for revolt. The state Legislature, which might normally be expected to deal with such issues as insurance reform, found itself sandwiched between big donors from both the insurance industry and the trial lawyers, and was unable to deal with the issue. The result was that *five* insurance-related measures appeared on the November 8 ballot (see *In These Times*, Nov. 2, 1988). These included, in addition to Prop. 103, a moderate reform measure backed by the trial lawyers and various consumer groups, an industry-backed no-fault plan and various measures to limit lawyers' contingency fees.

Prop. 103 alone, however, offered a fundamental restructuring of the state insurance industry, along with the enticement of an immediate 20 percent rollback of auto insurance rates. Under 103, future rate increases would have to be approved by an *elected* insurance commissioner. The current commissioner, Roxani Gillespie, was appointed by Republican Gov. George Deukmejian and is a former insurance executive. During the campaign, Nader made it clear that her performance on the job was one of the reasons

Insurers collide with California voters



c 1989 Miles DeCoster

for making the position elective. "She runs the department like it is a subsidiary of the insurance industry," he charged.

Other provisions of 103 called for the establishment of a statewide consumer organization to watchdog the industry, restrictions of the "zip-code underwriting" that allowed companies to base rates on where consumers lived rather than on their driving records; and the removal of the industry's exemption from the state's anti-trust laws. No wonder it gave the industry conniptions.

Beating the big guys: The five competing initiatives were enormously complex; the no-fault plan, for example, filled 122 pages. But pre-election polls showed that the voters were sensibly resolving the complexity by ignoring the enormous sums of money—more than enough for a nationwide presidential race—being spent on slick advertising, and basing their judgments simply on who was sponsoring what.

In the ensuing popularity contest between the insurance industry and the trial lawyers, neither side won. Instead, after having been outspent by more than 30-to-1, Prop. 103 squeaked by with 51 percent of the vote, racking up an enormous 600,000 vote margin in Los Angeles, the area hardest hit by large premium increases under the zip code underwriting system.

But winning the election was only a start for Prop. 103 supporters. The next challenge was dealing with what San Francisco Consumers Union spokeswoman Judith Bell calls the "absolutely hysterical" industry response to 103's passage. "I think in all the scenarios they had thought of," she says, "they never anticipated that just 103 would pass."

Immediately after the election, with the insurance industry ready to boycott California, the resultant panic created by the unavailability of insurance (in a state where basic coverage is mandatory) made real the industry predictions of "chaos" should 103 pass. It also stood as a warning to other states that might be tempted to try similar reforms.

Things calmed down somewhat after the California Supreme Court accepted the industry's challenge to 103. Following the ouster of Chief Justice Rose Bird and two other liberal justices in 1986, the court returned to reliably pro-business conservative hands.

Believing their suit was in safe hands, most insurance companies resumed selling policies and postponed their moving plans pending the court's verdict.

Contrary to the urging of Gov. Deukmejian and the insurance industry, however, the court did allow the bulk of the measure to go into effect, staying only its two most controversial provisions: the 20 percent rate rollback and the creation of the statewide consumer organization. The measure is being aggressively defended by state Attorney General John Van de Kamp, a Democrat with an eye on the 1990 gubernatorial race.

Populist push? Insurance reform, in fact, may turn into a powerful Democratic issue in California. Only Democratic names, including that of Assemblyman Tom Hayden, are being mentioned as likely candidates for the new statewide office of insurance commissioner. "The tendency of the voters will be to elect an anti-industry populist," admits industry campaign manager Clint Reilly in a leaked post-election assessment. "The insurance industry must begin now interviewing responsible candidates and developing a common agenda with respect to this critical public office."

The development of a "common agenda" for the industry, however, is being complicated by the anti-trust provisions of Prop. 103 which have now gone into effect. Industry representatives have turned uncouthly circumspect in their pronouncements and predictions, lest they be charged with collusion. Two companies, however, seem to be taking on the burden of challenging different parts of the law.

State Farm, the largest insurance company in the state, has stopped issuing new policies and is referring new customers to higher-priced subsidiaries. Insurance Commissioner Gillespie ordered the company to resume selling policies at its standard rate; State Farm is asking for a hearing.

Travelers Corp., on the other hand, is refusing to *renew* current policies as they come due, despite explicit language in 103 forbidding non-renewal except in cases such as nonpayment of premium or fraud. Its spurned policyholders are left to flounder in a hostile marketplace, where many companies are taking advantage of the chaos to increase rates drastically.

"They aren't doing anything that violates

the law," protests industry spokesman Dave Fountain. "I don't know of any law that can keep a company in business where it does not choose to stay in business."

But Travelers does not propose to pull out of the state entirely—only to stop selling auto insurance. Sensing defeat, the company had filed for withdrawal from the auto insurance business the day before the election, saying that it could no longer afford to sell auto insurance in the state.

Insurance Commissioner Gillespie has backed away from an earlier pledge to issue a "cease and desist" order to Travelers, holding instead a drawn-out hearing process. "But if we were to allow one major insurance company to refuse to renew their policies," warned state Sen. Alan Robbins at a January 4 hearing on the Travelers case in San Francisco, "we would be encouraging other insurance companies to do the same. Within a very short period it would snowball, and there would be a panic in the automotive insurance market." A ruling in the Travelers case is expected later this month.

Tarnished image: Presently most legislative action is stalled awaiting the state Supreme Court's decision on the constitutionality of 103. The insurance industry, meanwhile, is trying to figure out how to improve its image, which everyone admits is at an all-time low. "As companies threaten to leave California or make good on previous threats," says industry consultant Reilly in his confidential memo, "as legislators hold public hearings and flog industry executives, as the industry is publicly accused of subverting the will of the people, a picture of a callous, disorganized industry is being indelibly etched in the consciousness of California consumers.... In terms of public opinion, the insurance industry is worse off today than on November 8."

Reilly's prescription is for a renewed PR push—which would presumably entail continued lucrative employment for himself—and what sounds like a continued attempt at destabilization to turn voters against the insurance revolution: "The ramifications of Prop. 103 may ultimately force these voters to re-examine Prop. 103, but only if events create an unstable environment where the auto insurance system is in continuing turmoil."

Voter Revolt, on the other hand, is busy defending the gains of 103 and answering questions from consumer activists in other states that hope to implement similar reforms. "We've gotten calls from about 37 states," says spokeswoman Carmen Gonzalez from Voter Revolt's Santa Monica headquarters. Most other states do not share California's statewide initiative system, she says, but the Prop. 103 message is still exportable. "What it has done is create an awareness in politicians that their constituents are good and angry about this issue," she says.

"It shifts the momentum away from weakening victims' rights in personal injury cases to insurance reform," says Nader. "The important thing is to turn this giant industry into a sentinel for health and safety in this country. That's the way to keep their claims down, not by thriving off the tragedies and then blocking the victims from collecting under the policy."

Paul Rauber is a staff writer for the *East Bay Express*.

Chemical

Continued from page 3

Mikhail Gorbachev decided to apply "openness" to chemical weapons disarmament and accept strict verification, including "challenge" on-site inspections. The West Germans, who are particularly anxious to negotiate a ban that would get U.S. chemical weapons off their territory for good, rejoiced that an agreement was in sight. Last June West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher predicted that a chemical weapons convention could be concluded in Geneva by the end of 1988.

But last August 30 U.S. disarmament negotiator Max Kampelman told a confidential meeting of Western ambassadors in Geneva that a chemical weapons ban was not feasible because it was unverifiable. Some experts attribute this about-face to pressure from the powerful U.S. chemical industry to keep international inspectors from snooping into its business. "Openness" may be fine for the Soviet Union, but it has never characterized major private corporations.

Turning the tableaux: Meanwhile, playing copy cat, France had also written a new chemical weapons program into its 1986 military planning law. French negotiators in Geneva took a position regarded by everybody else as particularly obstructionist.

The U.S. and France thus found themselves on the defensive, under suspicion of deliberately blocking a possible worldwide chemical weapons ban. By a funny coincidence, those are the very two countries that initiated the Paris conference. By sponsoring several days of speechmaking in Paris, the French and the Americans paraded in front of the media as the leading adversaries of chemical weaponry.

France's cherished arms customer, Iraq, has blatantly used chemical weapons against Iran in the Gulf War, as established by independent U.N. investigators. The failure of the U.N.—meaning the great powers that control

it—to sanction Iraq in any way amounted to an advertisement for chemical weapons. This moral damage might have been repaired at the conference. But it wasn't. French and U.S. diplomats alluded politely to "chemical weapons use in the Gulf War" without naming the culprit. The French hosts graciously insisted that the conference should not be used to "put anybody on trial."

Instead, with much fanfare, the U.S. spent the previous weeks denouncing Libya.

The U.S. attacks on Libya were characterized by their flagrant unfairness. Unfairness toward Libya is invisible in the U.S. But it was bound to be noticed elsewhere.

The Reagan administration charged that a pharmaceuticals plant under construction at Rabta near Tripoli was really a huge chemical arms factory. First of all, even if the U.S. charges are true, Libya has every right to manufacture chemical weapons until a convention has been reached and accepted. There is nothing illegal about it. As the world's leading chemical weapons producer, the U.S. knows this. But the U.S. follows a double standard.

Moreover, while the poisonous substances in chemical weapons can easily be derived from a pharmaceuticals or other chemical installation, to become weapons they require sophisticated delivery systems. Libya is far behind the U.S. or Israel in this crucial technology.

Proof impossible: Finally, the U.S. framed its charges in such a way as to provide Libya with no way to defend itself. Inspection was rejected as "not proving anything." This was the Alice in Wonderland system of justice: "I'll be judge, I'll be jury, said charming old Fury...and condemn you to death."

To top it off, the U.S. shot down two Libyan air force planes off Libya's own coast, under patently unjustifiable circumstances.

The Libyans themselves seemed confused as to how to respond. Some apparently favored allowing inspection, while others maintained that if Libya allowed inspection

of its factories, so should the U.S. A practical way to proceed was suggested by Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti: take up Libya on its offer of outside inspection. But the U.S. administration proved more eager to show that inspection was useless than to extend its use. Why? Experts point out that a chemical weapons capacity almost automatically goes with certain industrial capacity. Thus the following are two potential ways to check chemical weapons production.

- One is a comprehensive worldwide system of inspection of industrial sites. This is the method that experts have been working on in Geneva. The Italian and West German foreign ministers stressed in Paris that success was within reach, and urged all scientists to reject work on weapons and help with the work of verifying a ban.

- The other is to prevent spread of chemical industry know-how. This method freezes the existing hierarchy between industrialized and underdeveloped countries, allowing the former to continue "vertical" proliferation of weapons, while stopping "horizontal" proliferation to Third World countries. This is what the U.S. was promoting in Paris.

The fact that it was Libya, rather than Iraq, that was singled out for U.S. threats convinced Arab and Third World countries that the U.S. was acting in bad faith. Focusing on unproved allegations against its favorite whipping boy, the Reagan administration ensured that the Arab countries would protest against the double standard being applied. And these protests—even though fairly mild—could and would be portrayed as obstructionist.

For months in advance, Western commen-

tators had been calling chemical weapons "the poor man's nuclear weapons," implying that they could be used by non-nuclear countries to deter nuclear attacks. This is highly debatable, but Israel's Arab neighbors were bound to take it seriously.

Inevitably, the main Arab delegates pointed out that they had signed the nuclear weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), whereas Israel had not. Now Israel's powerful ally was telling them they could not have chemical weapons either, whereas Israel was accumulating every kind of modern weapon, with U.S. help.

"Chemical weapons are weapons of mass destruction just like nuclear weapons, and therefore we believe chemical disarmament should be linked to nuclear disarmament," the Kuwaiti spokesman said. If the U.S., Israel and France all believe that chemical arsenals are necessary to deter attack, why should Arab countries not think the same? Disarmament, the Kuwaiti spokesman said, should be "equitable" and "balanced" so that "no country or group of countries are granted special privileges."

Spreading the word: Primed by U.S. official sources, much of the U.S. media was all ready to report "the story" from Paris: chemical disarmament was being held up by "the Arabs" with their unreasonable linkage of chemical to nuclear weapons. This was exactly what the U.S. war dance around Libya had ensured. But the Arabs' ability to sabotage an agreement sincerely desired by all the major powers is as illusory as the capacity of chemical weapons to protect any Third World country against any industrialized adversary.

Next week: The new three-way split appearing in the world.

AMERICAN PICTURES

MOST SUCCESSFUL CAMPUS EVENT OF THE 80's:

Shown in more than 100 American colleges. 60% invite the presentation back within one year!

Shown 10 times in Harvard, 7 in Yale, 6 in Cornell, 4 in Stanford, 4 in Georgetown, 3 in Dartmouth, 3 in Brown... and 15 times in Berkeley!

Required for freshman orientation in Dartmouth, Cornell, Boston University etc.

BACKGROUND

The show is based on the 5 years a young Dane, Jacob Holdt, hitchhiked over 100,000 miles in the USA. He bought film for his camera by selling blood twice weekly. He lived in more than 400 homes - from the poorest southern sharecroppers, to some of America's wealthiest families (Pabst, Rockefeller). He joined the rebellion in Wounded Knee, followed criminals in the ghettos during muggings, sneaked inside to work in southern slave camps and infiltrated secret Ku Klux Klan meetings. While working with prisoners he saw two of his friends assassinated. By the time he returned to Denmark 12 of his American friends had been murdered.

"Not since Jacob Riis' book of social criticism *How the Other Half* lives has there been as powerful a record of American living as American Pictures. Its presentation at the Cannes Film Festival created a sensation." *The San Francisco Film Festival.*

"What makes American Pictures so disturbingly powerful is the cumulative effects of Holdt's photographs combined with his outsider's analysis of the dynamics of poverty and oppression in the U.S." *Los Angeles Times*



A show and a book of a Danish vagabond's journey through the underclass

"Powerful, intense" *New York Times*

THE BOOK

The book, which is based on the show, is an international bestseller. The Village Voice revealed that the U.S. State Department grew worried about its impact overseas and commissioned photographers to present the "other side" of America. Written in a personal tone it is now a popular classroom supplement in American schools. 800 photos, the bulk in color.

I order _____ copy of the book. I enclose a money order or check of \$15 paperback _____ or \$18 for hardcover _____

I would like a possible showing of American Pictures in my high school, college: _____

I would like the book mailed to:

Send to: **AMERICAN PICTURES**
P.O. Box 2123 New York, N.Y. 10009

? What's Red & Green & ahead of its Time?

Socialist Review,

the informative, insightful, innovative, and iconoclastic journal of the American left... keeps you abreast of debates and issues from the promise of perestroika to the perils of social democracy, from deep ecology to gay identity, from the lessons of the '60s to the politics of the '90s.

Challenging the present, forging the future.

Now you can phone in your subscription toll free (for new subscriptions only, please):

1-800-341-1522

Socialist Review

Socialist Review

3202 Adeline Street, Berkeley, California 94703

☐ \$50 sustaining subscription (tax-deductible; make check payable to CSRE.)

☐ \$21 for one-year subscription. ☐ \$25 outside the U.S.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ VISA ☐ MASTERCARD # _____ EXP. DATE _____

THE BLACK MOVEMENT HAS STOPPED MOVING and it couldn't have happened at a worse time. In fact, the need for concerted African-American social action is probably greater in 1989 than a quarter century ago when the non-violent protest tactics of Martin Luther King Jr. enjoyed a wide consensus. But the African-American crusade for racial justice has now been marginalized by Reagan-era conservatism and hobbled by its own lack of focus.

The accelerating decay of conditions among the black underclass is one reason for the movement's inactivity; new data demands time to devise new approaches. But concerned observers increasingly are worried that the current lull reflects a more serious failing. "There's nothing new being done, because no one knows what to do," says Harold Cruse, author of *Plural but Equal* and professor emeritus of History and Afro-American studies at the University of Michigan.

Deep pessimism: Cruse, whose 1987 book argued that black leadership's long-held emphasis on "non-economic liberalism" effectively doomed blacks to a position of economic patronage, contends the problems in black communities cannot be adequately addressed by anything but emergency federal action. "An accumulation of socioeconomic problems that have been developing for more than 25 years are closing in on blacks like a vise. It's a process that can't be reversed," he says.

Cruse further predicts that things must get worse before they get better. "I'm afraid the deteriorating social conditions among black Americans will help fuel a period of intense racial polarization," he says. In Cruse's vision of the future, the social pathologies associated with the growth of the black underclass will so aggravate interracial tensions that the federal government will be forced to devote resources in some massive ameliorative effort.

Cruse's dire prediction is not the product of some disillusioned doomsayer. He is one of black America's most innovative analysts and has been raising uncomfortable issues since the publication of his controversial 1967 book, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. But his argument concludes in a bleak fatalism: nothing substantial can be done to improve conditions in the black community until a racial crisis forces the government's hand.

Although Cruse still urges the black movement to adopt economic self-sufficiency as its guiding strategy, he says problems now overwhelm the capacity of any indigenous, self-help approach: "We're not living in normal times. This is an era of immense international change and restructuring, and black people are not being prepared for survival."

Cruse's deep sense of pessimism is not widely shared by other leading theorists of the movement. Martin Kilson, professor of government at Harvard University, also is concerned about the lack of effective strategies to address the problem of the expanding black underclass. However, he sees silver linings in Cruse's storm clouds.

"There is a plethora of black professional groups that have come into existence in recent years—groups of black engineers, MBAs, computer analysts and the like—and they offer a unique promise for new approaches to the problems of those less able to cope," explains Kilson. That promise has yet to be fulfilled. But recent developments—like the example set by Bill Cosby's gift of \$20 million to Spelman College, a

Black America: looking for a new consensus



**"The deteriorating social conditions among black Americans will help fuel a period of intense racial polarization."
—Harold Cruse**

school for black women—suggest Kilson's optimism may be justified.

Antiquated language: A self-professed leftist, Kilson says he nonetheless has become less committed to ideological solutions for the problems of black Americans. "Another promising development is the realization by this country's corporate interests that they must have an educated workforce if they are to remain competitive in international trade," Kilson notes. "Corporate investment in education may help us salvage those black students who are underachieving, dropping out and making life dangerous and miserable for others in their communities."

Kilson contends that black theorists are failing to devise innovative approaches because they're using antiquated concepts to interpret a society that has changed considerably in the '80s. "We're victims of a one-class language, while blacks are a two-class society," Kilson says. "There is the coping strata and the non-coping strata, and for too long we've focused all of analytical where-withal on the deficiencies of the non-coping strata, or the underclass."

Instead, he contends, "we should be discovering ways to utilize the strengths of the coping strata for the good of that one-third of the black population that is dipping deeper into poverty." Kilson believes that black professional associations will address problems from a different angle, and perhaps provide more creative alternatives to traditional methods of African-American empowerment.

A grand strategy: While Kilson welcomes eclectic solutions to the problems of the black community, Maulana Karenga, director of the Institute of Pan-African Studies in Los Angeles and a visiting lecturer at the University of California-Riverside, is attempting to draft a grand, unified strategy. Karenga was the philosophical guru of the '60s cultural

nationalist movement and his theoretical work still is highly regarded among movement intellectuals.

In recent years Karenga's ideological range has widened a bit and his strategies for furthering the cause of racial justice have become much less dogmatic. Once a foe of electoral politics, for example, he was one

POLITICS

of candidate Jesse Jackson's strongest supporters in the 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns. A former critic of multiracial coalitions, Karenga now welcomes the advent of organizations like Jackson's National Rainbow Coalition (NRC). Still, he remains a black nationalist who believes that African-Americans will continue to suffer without economic and cultural autonomy.

"The crisis currently afflicting the black movement is a result of the black leadership class changing the focus of civil rights from social justice to social inclusion," Karenga says. "Meanwhile, the liberal alignment they had depended on to deliver the goods deflected to neoconservatism and blacks were left stranded. They still haven't recovered."

Karenga would lessen the black movement's reliance on political alliances, yet stress the need for a strong political component in a multileveled approach. He credits the Jackson effort for forcing a renewed focus on the value of political organizing. "Jesse forced us to recognize the legitimacy of the electoral process. Not as a panacea, however, but as it involved and excited people, especially the middle class," Karenga says. "Jackson's campaigns had clear political goals and aspirations focusing on this country's imperative to share the social wealth and power in this country and end the white male monopoly of the Democratic Party."

A black party? Karenga also credits Jackson for the development of the kind of multiethnic alliances—in the form of the NRC—he thinks are essential to improve African-Americans' quality of life. He differs



**Black professional groups may provide "new approaches to the problems of those less able to cope."
—Martin Kilson**

with Jackson, however, when Karenga argues for the creation of two independent political parties: a party of multiethnic progressives and an independent black political party.

"We need a party that can argue for progressive policies from a multinational perspective," Karenga argues. "But we also need a black party that speaks directly to and for black people and is rooted in the community. In any kind of coalition blacks should be equal, not just satellites. Clients and patrons don't make good coalition partners, and the only way blacks can do that is from an independent base."

Cruse also argues for a third-party strategy. While praising the Jackson political efforts as "good rhetoric," he faults the two-time presidential candidate for foresaking the effort to create a third-party movement. "Jackson's entry into the fray was positive for galvanizing hope, but then the hopeful should have been mobilized to form a third party. The only way the Rainbow Coalition could be of practical use is as the centerpiece of another political party."

"The Democratic Party is a dead end," Cruse adds. "The liberal left-wing axis of the traditional two-party system is archaic and is ideologically unequipped to deal with the massive accumulation of social problems. And since the Republican Party remains in thrall to the right-wing fulcrum of electoral politics, it offers no hope to those who see little progress for blacks without a change in the status quo. The only plausible option left, he concludes, "is to organize an independent black party."

But according to Cornel West, the black movement already has wasted too much of its energy and resources on electoral politics. West, professor of religion and director of Afro-American studies at Princeton University and author of the critically-acclaimed collection of essays, *Prophetic Fragments*, argues that the movement most needs a change of focus. "Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam and Rev. Al Sharpton and other charlatans are seemingly the only black people with extrapolitical thrusts. I'm not saying we should neglect our electoral responsibilities, but I think the emphasis on political matters has siphoned off too much of our very limited resources," says West.

Reparations: Karenga also emphasizes the responsibility of leadership to hold white Americans accountable for the ills of chattel slavery and that inhuman institution's reverberating effect. "Europeans are guilty for our debasement, but we're responsible for our liberation. That means we must marshal all of our internal resources to do for ourselves what must be done. But it also means that part of our responsibility is to make white Americans understand that we still hold them responsible."

That task is made much more difficult with the death of the political coalition that passed Great Society legislation and the following triumph of conservative dogma. Consequently, more theorists are beginning to shift the discussion of government assistance to a broader historical context. They are attempting to craft arguments that make clear blacks' legitimate claim for reparations.

These theorists argue that black Americans were culturally ravaged and economically dispossessed by nearly 250 years of official enslavement and the subsequent deprivations of the Jim Crow era. Reparations are needed to repair the damage done, they insist. This idea is nothing new, of course. During the Reconstruction period, the U.S.

Continued on page 22

By Paul Little

RAPID CITY, S.D.

THE SIOUX NATION BLACK HILLS ACT, WHICH Sen. Bill Bradley is expected to reintroduce in the 101st Congress early this year, would provide a definitive legislative solution to one of the longest and largest Indian land claims in U.S. history. The bill, which has twice died in committee during earlier sessions, would return over 1.3 million acres of federal forest and grasslands in the Black Hills of South Dakota to the Sioux Indians, from whom the properties were illegally taken more than a century ago by the U.S. government. Although it faces an uphill fight, the legislation, if enacted, would be a dramatic reversal of the government's sordid past dealings with the now-im-poverished Sioux tribes.

The Black Hills are a mountain oasis of trees, water and wildlife that rise dramatically from the dry Western Plains. Called *Paha Sapa* (Black Mountains) by the Sioux because when seen from a distance they appear as hazy black forms, they were a sacred center of religious worship and a source of sustenance and protection during the long, harsh Dakota winters. The *Paha Sapa* were the soul of the Great Sioux Nation.

Breaking its own laws: The discovery of gold in the Black Hills during Lt. Col. George A. Custer's secret expedition in 1874 sparked a stampede that brought thousands of miners to the Sioux land. Almost immediately the U.S. government began looking for a way to gain control of the rich tract. When the news of Custer's crushing defeat at Little Big Horn by Sioux and Cheyenne warriors reached Washington at the height of the nation's centennial celebration in 1876, the idea of outright expropriation of the Black Hills gained widespread support in government circles. In 1877 an act of Congress took 7.3 million acres of Black Hills territory from the Sioux in direct violation of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty that had granted them "absolute and undisturbed use and occupation" of the land.

The Sioux Nation Bill, commonly known as the Bradley Bill, would transfer all federal land holdings in the original government-appropriated area to the Sioux and create a Sioux National Park, thereby preventing the land from being sold and guaranteeing the integrity of the Black Hills forest. The land would be managed by the Sioux Nation. The Indians would not be able to sell the property, although they would be able to lease it for recreational and commercial uses. In addition, the government would grant the Indians \$190 million in compensation, which would provide the Sioux with the wherewithal to tackle the dire problems on their reservations. Four of the nation's 10 poorest counties are located on Sioux reservations in South Dakota, unemployment rates hover at 75 percent and alcoholism is a major health and social problem. The bill offers the Sioux the chance to achieve economic self-sufficiency for the first time since the demise of the buffalo herds on the Great Plains over a century ago.

The Sioux National Council established by the bill provides a viable framework for the political unity of the eight Lakota (Sioux) tribes, which was lost when they were forced onto separate reservations in 1889. The Siouan Dakota and Nakota tribes, which reached earlier settlements with Washington, are left out of the bill. Proponents of the legislation add that at a spiritual level, the regaining of this sacred land signifies the restoration of the stolen soul of the Sioux

Should U.S. give back land it stole from Sioux?

and heralds the beginning of the reconstruction of the shattered Sioux identity.

Land of Honeywell: The underlying management principle of the area would change from the U.S. Forest Service's current "multiple use" policy to the traditional Sioux principle of "respect for the land." No one knows precisely how this new policy would be interpreted and applied by the Sioux nation, but a recent conflict between Sioux leaders and the Honeywell Corp. provides some clues.

In 1987 Honeywell announced plans to build a munitions testing facility on 6,200 acres of private land in the southern Hills' Thunder Eagle Canyon. The proposal was hailed by state leaders and local residents for promising much-needed jobs in the region, but Indian and non-Indian opponents of the plan rallied around ecological and religious concerns. The Cowboy and Indian Alliance (CIA) was organized to fight the Honeywell effort. Sioux leaders said that munitions testing would desecrate traditional Indian ceremonial and religious sites in the canyon. In protest, Indians erected a Sioux sweat lodge (used for purification rites) on Honeywell land, which the company destroyed after federal and state officials affirmed its property rights. However, after eight months of bickering, Honeywell pulled out citing "lack of support by area residents" as its main reason.

Highly profitable economic exploitation of the Hills is the bottom line when it comes to non-Indian opposition to the Bradley Bill. The Homestake gold mine, established in 1876 on some of the original tracts, remains one of America's largest. The mine has produced 35 million ounces of gold, grossing over \$3 billion for the company. Coal, uranium and silver are mined in other areas

on a lesser scale. Logging, hunting and fishing are also important to the economy. The most profitable activity in the region today, however, is tourism, which ranks second to agriculture as South Dakota's largest industry. Mount Rushmore's four presidents carved in stone draw more than 2 million people annually.

In spite of the fact that neither Mount Rushmore nor private land holdings would be touched by the bill, many non-Indians fear that Indian jurisdiction would limit water, fishing, hunting and access rights they presently enjoy, as well as hurt the area's booming tourist industry. The Open Hills Association, a citizens' group organized to lobby against the bill, passed out literature last summer to out-of-state tourists in an effort to create nationwide opposition. They have received support from South Dakota's two U.S. senators, Republican Larry Pressler and Democrat Tom Daschle. Pressler blames the legislation on "East Coast liberal Democrats trying to salve their consciences." Daschle's opposition is more surprising, since it was the strong Indian vote that helped him achieve his razor-thin 1986 election victory.

Neither senator wants to alienate the state's conservative white constituency, many of whom see the Bradley Bill as yet another federal giveaway to a people "hopelessly addicted to the federal dole." One Rapid City resident explained that South Dakotans who believe that the U.S. should never have "given away" the Panama Canal likewise oppose "giving away" the Black Hills in their own backyard.

Conquest and constitution: Still other South Dakotans question the Sioux' claim to the area, arguing that they forced the Crow

and the Cheyenne off the land just as the U.S. did to the Sioux. While Sioux religious leaders challenge this assertion, Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Chairman Wayne Ducheneaux agrees that to lay claim to an area a nation must be able to hold it militarily. The Sioux did this, he says, by defeating the U.S. Cavalry in the Red Cloud War and forcing the government to negotiate the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868—the pact was violated when the land was taken from the Indians in 1877. "It is U.S. law that says this is our land. It is the U.S. Constitution that says the treaties are the supreme law of the land. When we became citizens we were granted rights in this government under that Constitution."

Ducheneaux' strong support of the bill has brought him into conflict with supporters of a controversial proposal by Phil Stevens, a California millionaire businessman who claims Sioux heritage. Stevens came to South Dakota just over a year ago and began lobbying on the reservations for an increase in the compensation award from \$190 million to \$2.7 billion. He gained further publicity when he joined singer Joni Mitchell in an August 1988 rally supporting the Sioux claims to the land.

In the fall of last year the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council, which had initially endorsed the bill as written, changed its decision when the Stevens proposal won a plurality of 34 percent in a tribal referendum that included five different options. Ducheneaux then pushed through a second reversal and the Tribal Council upheld its original support of the Bradley Bill. All but one of the tribal councils involved have now officially rejected the Stevens proposal on the grounds that it hurts chances for the bill's passage.

The legislative approach by the Sioux comes after 60 years of failing legal efforts to regain the lands. Beginning with a suit filed in the U.S. Court of Claims in 1920, this litigation culminated in a 1980 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that upheld an earlier decision stating that "a more ripe and rank case of dishonorable dealings will never, in all probability, be found in our history." The court awarded the Sioux \$17.5 million, the 1877 market value of the land, plus 5 percent simple interest and deposited the money in a bank. All eight tribal councils rejected the settlement, claiming that the Black Hills were not for sale.

A steering committee was formed in 1983 to draft legislation on the claim. It worked closely with Sen. Bradley, who, during visits to the Pine Ridge Reservation in the '70s had told tribal leaders, "If I can ever help you, I will." The Sioux National Black Hills Act was first introduced in Congress in 1985 with Rep. James J. Howard (D-NJ) joining Bradley as the sole sponsor. By the time the bill was reintroduced in 1987 it had garnered three Senate and 17 House sponsors.

Though the bill has never made it to the floor of Congress, the Sioux—who have been struggling for 112 years to get back their sacred Black Hills—are hopeful that chances for success will be better in the new session. To Charlotte Black Elk, secretary of the Black Hills Steering Committee, "this is primarily a justice issue. If America is to live up to the principles established in the Constitution, then the Black Hills should be returned. We hope to see justice done in our lifetime." □

Paul Little, a freelance journalist, worked as an educator on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation for eight years and is the author of *River of People*, a history of the reservation.

New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley: trying to correct a 112-year-old injustice.



By Lawrence Kootnikoff

MONTREAL

NE TOUCHEZ PAS A LA LOI 101," PROCLAIMED the signs hanging from hundreds of Montreal apartment balconies: "Don't touch Bill 101."

But on December 15 the Supreme Court of Canada did just that, striking down provisions of the controversial Quebec language law that made it illegal to post commercial signs in languages other than French. The court found the provisions in conflict with Quebec's Charter of Rights.

The long-awaited decision set off a wave of nationalist protests in this French-speaking province. In Montreal, 15,000 people rallied at a hockey arena to hear fiery speeches from labor leaders, artists and nationalist politicians. There was also vandalism and arson against English-speaking groups.

Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa was besieged from both sides. Representatives from the English-speaking minority demanded respect for the high court's verdict, and nationalist groups clamored for the use of the charter's "notwithstanding clause," which permits the government to override sections of the charter.

Three days after the decision, Bourassa acted. In an attempt to find a compromise and maintain what he calls "the social peace," he opted for what has become known as the "inside-outside" formula. Other languages will now be allowed inside businesses. But to protect the "French face" of Quebec, all outside signs must remain French only; and to prevent further court challenges, he invoked the "notwithstanding" clauses of both the Quebec and Canadian charters. But this seems to have left everyone unhappy. Three out of four Anglophone cabinet ministers have resigned in protest, while the opposition Parti Québécois (PQ) has branded the action a sell-out of French and "a step backward." Both sides have blamed the premier for the rise in linguistic tensions.

A new nationalism? The court's ruling and Bourassa's handling of it may give the province's sputtering independence movement a badly needed kick-start. After a difficult few years, the separatist PQ and the nationalists see a chance to return to the glory years of the '60s and '70s.

Quebec is one of the few jurisdictions in the world to legislate on the language of commercial signs, and the only non-sovereign state to do so. Bill 101 was passed by the PQ government in 1977.

"The Charter of the French Language," as the law is officially known, deals with much more than signs. It also makes French the official language of Quebec, guarantees French-speakers the right to work and be served in their language, and ensures that children of immigrants to Quebec will be educated in French.

But over the years Bill 101, especially the sign provision, has become a symbol. English-speakers consider the law an infringement on their rights. But for Francophone Quebecers—80 percent of the province's population—it represents the progress they have made in the past three decades.

Twenty-five years ago Quebecers started a ride on a political roller coaster. As young Americans were in the streets protesting the war in Vietnam, young Quebecers were marching for independence and discovering a new pride in their culture. Nationalists called themselves "the white niggers" of



Jean-François Leblanc

Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau has energized the province's nationalist movement.

CANADA

Quebec's guerre des mots heats up

North America. Martial law was declared in October 1970 after a series of separatist bombings and kidnappings. A provincial government committed to Quebec independence was elected in 1976, and separatists suffered defeat in a provincewide referendum in 1980.

For many, that referendum settled the question. But the current language turmoil may reopen the debate.

Quebec nationalism has always been cyclical. These latest stirrings can actually be traced to the November 1987 death of PQ founder and former Premier René Lévesque, who died suddenly of a heart attack.

His death led to an outpouring of nostalgia for *la belle époque* of separatism and galvanized the moribund independence movement. Lévesque's moderate successor, Pierre-Marc Johnson, was forced to resign, and last March former finance minister and hard-line separatist Jacques Parizeau was acclaimed the party's new leader.

But while Parizeau has energized his party and the nationalist movement in general, until now he has not been able to make a dent in the tremendous popularity of Bourassa's governing Liberals. However, this latest turn of events has brought language, the most explosive issue in Quebec and Canadian politics and the PQ's strongest issue, once more to the forefront.

War of word choice: This latest round over signs is another shot in the seemingly endless language war. The English-French dichotomy, what one novelist termed "the two solitudes," has been the central fact of Canadian political life for over two centuries, since the British conquest in 1759. Forming about 25 percent of a nationwide population of 25 million, Canada's Francophones are overwhelmingly concentrated in Quebec.

The wave of nationalism that washed over Quebec in the '60s and '70s swept the PQ into power in 1976 on a social democratic platform, with Parizeau as finance minister. The new government promised a referendum on "sovereignty association," a vague concept of political independence with an economic union with the rest of Canada.

But after the defeat of the referendum in

1980 the wave was spent. Ironically, this was due in part to many of the measures taken by the PQ to strengthen the place of French in Quebec, especially Bill 101. Young Francophones were moving into business and finance, once the exclusive preserve of Anglophones. French was made one of Canada's two official languages in 1969, and more and more English Canadians were learning the language. French was becoming the day-to-day language of business in Quebec.

As a result, the new generation of Quebecers did not suffer the same discrimination their elders had. They felt less threatened and saw no need for independence. Robbed of its base the PQ drifted, and many frustrated nationalists, including Parizeau, left the party.

After the return to power of the federalist Liberals in 1985, many pronounced the independence movement dead. But recent events show such pronouncements were greatly exaggerated.

Controversial leader: A man of contradictions, Parizeau presents an unlikely image for a leader of a modern political party. A well-fed man in his trademark three-piece pinstripe suit, mustache and slicked-back hair, he looks more like a Hollywood banker than someone hoping to lead his people into the most disruptive political breach in 200 years.

In fact, the former economics professor and graduate of the London School of Economics passed up several lucrative offers of bank presidencies in favor of rebuilding the PQ. An economic conservative and former high-ranking civil servant in Quebec's Liberal government of the '60s, he comes from one of the wealthiest families in the province. His unequivocal stand on independence has earned him the support of the party's "left" or "orthodox" wing.

However, many party members are uncomfortable with their new leader. While many disaffected nationalists have returned to the fold since Johnson's resignation, many moderates have resigned. Reasons range from anger at the undemocratic dumping of Johnson to opposition to Parizeau's "suici-

dal" insistence on turning the next provincial election into a referendum on sovereignty, along with doubts about his commitment to social democracy. Under Parizeau the PQ has taken a more conservative, pro-business line.

The PQ is hoping to ride public anger at the Supreme Court decision into the next provincial election, expected some time this year. If there is any issue capable of destroying Bourassa's overall credibility, it is language.

Bourassa is a classic procrastinating politician who deals with problems by putting them off and hoping they go away. His party was elected four years ago with a mandate to allow bilingual signs, provided French was predominant. Instead of acting quickly, he equivocated, allowing the issue to fester awaiting the Supreme Court's decision.

Bourassa has been down this road before. In 1974, during his last term as premier, he tried a similar language-law compromise. That law made French mandatory on all commercial signs, but allowed other languages. This alienated Anglophones who resented the imposition of French and nationalist Francophones who wanted nothing less than unilingual French signs. In the election that followed, Anglophone Liberals stayed home or voted for third parties and the PQ took power.

There are some signs that history could repeat itself. Traditionally Liberal Anglophones feel betrayed, while Francophones grown used to the security of unilingual French signs feel their language is once again threatened.

Bourassa will probably be able to ride out the current turmoil. Overall Quebecers are satisfied with his performance, and while they may have more faith in the PQ as protectors of the French language, from there to supporting the PQ's independence option is a big step. Quebecers will need more than the promise of "a seat beside Qatar at the United Nations," as Bourassa puts it, before they rally again to the separatist cause. □

Lawrence Kootnikoff writes regularly on Canada for *In These Times*.

IN THESE TIMES JAN. 18-24, 1989 11



IN THESE TIMES

January 16, 1989

Dear Subscriber,

When Ronald Reagan came into office eight years ago, it signaled the beginning of trying times not only for the American people, but also for *In These Times*. The American people, we survived Reagan's reign—but until we confronted the administration for what it was, we stagnated. In 1980, we had 25,000 subscribers, and at the end of 1987, we still had 25,000 subscribers. Then, last year, that changed. Once again we began to grow, and grow quickly. At the end of 1988, our circulation had reached 35,000, a gain of 40 percent in one year.

Now, with George Bush coming into office facing increased Democratic majorities in both the House and Senate, and with Mikhail Gorbachov demilitarizing the end of the Cold War and Yassir Arafat cooling off the Mideast war, we face even more and challenging times ahead. And that's when *In These Times* is needed. There are precious few publications in the U.S. that can keep you informed enough to understand ongoing news events—and to anticipate new ones. A look at our record for the past 12 years proves that nobody does it better than we do. Nobody.

We've been able to do what we do because we are independent of corporate owners and advertisers, because we have had you and our other subscribers to guarantee our survival and growth. As a not-for-profit operation, we have relied on readers from the beginning to keep us in business. Like National Public Radio and the Public Broadcasting System, which are listener- and viewer-supported, we continue to exist as long as we can count on you, our readers, to make up the great bulk of our annual operating deficit.

As you may know, that deficit—the difference between our operating costs and our income from subscriptions, bulk sales and advertising—has run as high as \$400,000 in recent years. This year we expect it to come down a bit, because of our increased circulation. Even so, we still have to raise a lot of money. This year we plan to expand our direct-mail solicitation so we can enter the '90s with 50,000 subscribers.

We believe we have survived and grown partly because of the quality of our reporting and analysis and partly because of our orientation to the real world of American politics and culture. We've tried to make our coverage increasingly comprehensive

and of higher quality as we gain experience and command more resources. But we also know that in many areas we could do a better job. This year, as in previous years, we have plans for greater coverage and more thorough editing. That's why we have just hired Daniel Lazare as our New York correspondent and Peter Karman as an additional in-house editor.

Many of our readers tell us in different ways that we have become an indispensable part of the American scene, one of the very small number of publications whose existence makes a difference in their lives and in the life of the country. We sincerely hope that this will be true this year and in the years to come, but it can only happen with your help.

Last year we received more than \$130,000 from our fund-appeal letters—the rest was made up by individual donor solicitations. Unfortunately, last year and in years before that, only about a third of this amount came in as the result of our January letter. The rest comes from emergency appeals later in the year. This year we hope to get the great bulk of our contributions now, because it will make our work here much more manageable—instead of putting an inordinate amount of time and energy into scurrying for money, we would prefer to put it into editorial work and circulation promotion.

So please send us a check today, when it will help the most. Anything that you can send will help, whether it is \$10 or \$1,000. You have kept us publishing for a dozen years. We're counting on you to do it again in 1989.

Sincerely,

James Weinstein
Editor

P.S. Some 400 of our subscribers are now regular sustainers of *In These Times*. These people make monthly or quarterly contributions and are an important stable source of support for the paper. If it is easier for you to give on a monthly or quarterly basis rather than in one lump sum, please become an *In These Times* sustainer. Just check the box on the enclosed card.

P.P.S. Please don't put it off. Send a check today. It's tax-deductible.

I am enclosing a contribution of ☐ \$1,000 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ Other

I pledge to give \$ _____ in |month| _____

I want to become a sustainer of *IN THESE TIMES*. I will give \$ _____
month quarter (please circle month or quarter).

(Checks payable to the Institute for Public Affairs are tax deductible.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312)472-5700

EDITORIAL



Time to change course in the war on drugs

Our advocacy of decriminalizing drugs, which we have proposed several times in recent years, is not motivated by a desire to increase drug use, but by a simple fact: current efforts to deal with drug addiction and the crimes associated with it do not work. Quite the contrary, increased efforts to crack down on drug users and traffickers have only made the trade more profitable, and therefore more attractive to manufacturers and pushers. All efforts to stop the flow of cocaine into our cities have failed miserably, just as efforts to stop the manufacture and importation of liquor failed during Prohibition. Now, as then, international criminal networks have increased in size and sophistication as they have learned how to evade the law and its would-be enforcers.

Meanwhile, the number of drug users and addicts has not declined significantly, if at all, because the reasons for using drugs have been ignored. The result is all too clear: billions of dollars expended on drug law enforcement, but no significant decrease in either the supplies of available drugs or in the number of people who use or abuse them. Instead, the courts have been overwhelmed with drug-related cases and jails have been overcrowded with petty criminals of the drug trade, thereby straining and distorting the criminal justice system.

Relative dangers: Illicit drug addiction is debilitating and frequently dangerous for those addicted. But, as many people have pointed out, its overall impact on public health is much less than that of alcohol or tobacco. There is no evidence that a single person has died from marijuana use, and for every person who dies as a result of use of other illegal drugs each year, 15-20 people die of alcoholism and 60-75 die from cigarette smoking. As individual health problems, drinking and smoking are much greater dangers than illegal drugs, both to individuals and to society.

In this situation it would be totally irrational to pursue a zero-tolerance option, which would require massive drug testing, body searches and vastly increased police activity. Such a

program would destroy the civil liberties of any individual or group suspected of drug use, and even if narrowly successful, would simply turn people back to alcohol.

Massive drug abuse and alcoholism are symptoms of an inequitable society, one that perpetuates powerlessness, poverty and the inability to lead creative and socially useful lives. Ultimately, the narcotics problem can be solved only by a change in the underlying values of our society and the principles on which it operates.

A modest proposal: But such a change is, at best, a long way off. For now, the problem is how to manage the drug problem with the least social cost. To that end, we make the following suggestions:

- All drugs, including hard liquor should be sold and distributed by federally operated outlets—similar in manner to state liquor stores that now exist in some states. All private distribution of drugs would remain illegal. This would make standardized drugs available at a relatively low price, thereby eliminating the profits of organized crime, and therefore the incentive of private distributors and pushers.

- The distribution system should be set up and its policies determined by a politically independent, well-funded commission selected from nominees of non-profit drug treatment and prevention centers, health care trade unions and nurses' and physicians' professional organizations.

- The commission would decide what drugs to distribute and set prices and administer drugs at public health clinics where full treatment for addiction would be available and encouraged. This would end the further spread of AIDS through intravenous needle sharing, and it would end the addicts' need to steal in order to support their habits. It would also weed out the impurities and variations in potency that now frequently cause fatal overdoses among addicts.

- The commission would be mandated to oversee a well-financed educational program to discourage experimentation with addictive drugs and encourage addicts to seek treatment.

This program would not end the drug problem, because there is no solution within our society as presently constituted. But we believe that it, or something like it, would go a long way toward reducing the terrible social consequences of the current drug culture. □

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein

Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson

Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, John B. Judis, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil

Assistant Managing Editors: Miles Harvey, Peter Karman

Culture Editor: Jeff Reid

European Editor: Diana Johnstone

New York Editor: Daniel Lazare

In Short Editor: Joel Bleifuss

Copy Editor: Kira Jones (acting)
Mary Nick-Bisgaard (on leave)

Editorial Promotions: Maggie Garb

Researcher: Joan McGrath

Interns: Michele Mozelsio, William Siegel, Ray Walsh

Art Director: Miles DeCoster

Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan

Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein

Photo Editor: Paul Comstock

Typesetters: Jim Rinnert, Sheryl Hybert

Publisher: James Weinstein

Associate Publisher: Bill Finley

Co-Business Managers:

Louis Hirsch, *Finance*

Kevin O'Donnell, *Data Processing Accounting*

Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey

Office Manager: Theresa Nutall

Circulation Director: Chris D'Arpa

Assistant Director: Greg Kilbane

Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and non-socialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1989 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs. Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

This issue (Vol. 13, No. 9) published Jan. 18, 1989, for newsstand sales Jan. 18-24, 1989.

LETTERS

Kenosha I

W.P. NORTON'S "FEAR AND LOATHING ON THE Chrysler Assembly Line (*ITT*, Nov. 23, 1988) was so full of distortions that I don't know where to begin. Rather than mention more than a dozen factual errors, I'll concentrate on the anti-union bias of the article.

The author researched his article at the bar across the street from one of the two Kenosha Chrysler assembly plants. One of those who was interviewed at a bar stated, "The union ain't worth two cents. They gave us a dirty deal all along." In fact, the union had just ended a nine-month battle against the plant closing, spending more than \$125,000 in the fight to keep the plant open. Demonstrations were held from Kenosha (where Jesse Jackson came from the Iowa caucuses to protest the closing) to New York, where the local union demonstrated against Chrysler head Lee Iacocca at an annual stockholders meeting. International picketing of the Chicago and Milwaukee auto shows and full-page appeals in Milwaukee papers were part of a strategy to pressure Chrysler to keep Kenosha open. The open letter was signed by four Democratic party presidential candidates as well as hundreds of other politicians and labor leaders. A meeting was held with primary candidate Michael Dukakis that resulted in his sending a personal appeal to Iacocca to keep Kenosha open. In a last-ditch attempt to get Gov. Tommy Thompson to sue Chrysler, as he had promised, the second shift assembly lines walked out and went to a rally of area politicians to demonstrate in favor of the local union position to sue Chrysler. That rally and the fight to keep Kenosha open were coordinated by the local union leadership. Thousands of members were active in the fight. Norton chose to ignore interviewing any of them and chose instead to base the article on two or three disgruntled members in a bar.

Let's take a look at what one of those interviewed at the bar, Jesse Sewell, will get when he's laid off. In the event that he isn't recalled to work (he most likely will be, in the engine plant that will remain in Kenosha until at least 1992 per the UAW settlement agreement), he would be eligible for insurance benefits for 25 months. His insurance would reactivate for life when he turned 55, when he would also be eligible for special early retirement benefits at approximately \$1,000 per month. Also as a result of the settlement, he will be eligible for total repayment of all the concessions given in the early '80s, which probably amounts to \$8,000-\$10,000.

This represents the first negotiated repayment of the auto concessions. He'll also be eligible for \$2,400 in special SUB payments, Chrysler profit-sharing, preferential hiring into other Chrysler plants, full complement of vacation allowance and performance bonus next year. He will also be eligible for full wages for nearly 10 weeks under the Job Bank Program and, hopefully, an equal split of a \$20 million trust fund that the local union is trying to get distributed equally among the 4,000 members who will be laid off. All of this was settled without having to sever seniority, which will most likely mean that Jesse will be called back to work in the engine plant before his benefits run out.

Norton concluded by saying that the bar-

gaining committee only negotiated a contract for themselves that would keep them working for five years. But the bargaining committee will remain only until the end of the term that they were elected to, approximately 18 months. Super seniority was negotiated decades ago in auto and every other industry to provide stability in local unions, not by the Local 72 Executive Board to protect themselves.

The fight to keep Kenosha open didn't end with maintaining auto assembly. It did, however, save 1,000 jobs in the engine division until at least 1992. The contract that was negotiated (and ratified by 82 percent of the membership) didn't achieve everything that we wanted, but it was what Chrysler said was the "most costly plant closing agreement in history."

Tod Ohnstad
Kenosha, Wis.

Kenosha II

I WAS PLEASED TO SEE THE ARTICLE ON THE Chrysler shutdown in Kenosha, Wis. (*ITT*, Nov. 23, 1988). The impact of the shutdown on southeastern Wisconsin will be the social equivalent of an atomic bomb, and *In These Times*' article contributes to public understanding of the devastating impact of the corporate abandonment of factory towns like Kenosha.

However, the article utterly failed to convey the imaginative, all-out struggle against the shutdown that has been waged by the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 72. Ever since the shutdown was announced on Jan. 27, 1988, the local has waged a tenacious battle to get Lee Iacocca to keep his word to workers and taxpayers by maintaining auto production in Kenosha. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the struggle can provide many lessons for unionists and progressives committed to stopping the deindustrialization of America.

Unfortunately, for his account of the union's response to the shutdown, writer W.P. Norton failed to interview elected union leaders and instead relied upon highly unrepresentative interviews conducted in a nearby bar. This method of journalism (ironically favored by conservative TV interviewers eager to solicit reactionary viewpoints from individual workers in order to undermine a union's stance) has obvious limitations for a publication like *In These Times*. By bypassing direct interviews with elected leaders and informed observers (my comments and those of Rudy Kuzel were apparently gleaned from other published stories), Norton missed out on the big story: a remarkably sophisticated struggle by one of the most progressive union locals in the nation.

Without the benefit of such interviews,

Norton could not have found out about the public education campaign waged by Local 72 against the shutdown. Nor would Norton have learned that Local 72 endorsed Jesse Jackson for president and that the local has been an absolutely central force in pressuring the hawkish local congressman, House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin, to end his support for aid to the Nicaraguan contra terrorists.

Short of an illegal work stoppage—which Local 72 leaders considered and rejected as unfeasible given local conditions—Local 72 did everything in its power to stop the shutdown. The union's efforts deserved far better treatment than in Norton's article.

Roger Bybee
Editor, *Racine Labor*
Racine, Wis.

Kenosha III

AS A REGULAR READER OF *IN THESE TIMES* AND A United Auto Worker (UAW) shop committee member at Chrysler-Kenosha, I was extremely disappointed by your article on our plant closing (*ITT*, Nov. 23, 1988). Those of us at Local 72 who have grown to respect your publication for its intelligent coverage of the labor scene expected much more than the shoddy and superficial piece by W.P. Norton.

The article contains numerous inaccuracies. Some of them are so far off as to be laughable, such as Norton's assertion that we will continue to produce Omni-Horizon cars here. If Norton had been paying attention he would have known that the main focus of our fight had been to keep the Omni-Horizon line from being moved to Detroit.

For his information, we will continue to build Jeep engines. We never did build the Jeep itself, as he erroneously reported. Other Norton inaccuracies are infuriating. His contention that the union leaders will stay on the job for five extra years is an insidious misstatement.

Also, Norton infers that he interviewed Local 72 Shop Chairman Rudy Kuzel and *Racine Labor* editor Roger Bybee. However, neither Kuzel nor Bybee recalls ever speaking to a W.P. Norton. We can only assume that Norton stumbled onto some back issues of *Racine Labor* and dug out some quotes from them.

I also find it perplexing that Norton chose for his principal interviews three workers he found drinking in a bar near the plant. Does Norton presume that quoting these three workers is sufficient to sum up the complex relations between the union leadership and its members in a plant-closing situation?

There is much about the Kenosha situa-

tion that needs to be summed up. Unfortunately, Norton has added nothing to that summation.

John Drew
Milwaukee

W.P. Norton replies: My story attempted to show the economic and human devastation caused by Chrysler's pullout from its Kenosha auto plant. The union's struggle to keep the plant open has been well-documented in the mainstream and labor press, but I felt that the long-term consequences for the people of Kenosha had been largely unexplored. Furthermore, my story provided one of the few forums for the Midwest Center for Labor Research's excellent economic report—which showed how Kenosha will be savaged by the pullout, regardless of the union settlement's short-term benefits.

Perhaps Bybee and Kuzel do not recall the phone interviews I conducted with them because as a freelance writer, I was not in a position to identify myself as an *In These Times* reporter prior to the publication's acceptance of my story.

In no way did I mean to attack the UAW or Local 72. In fact, I balanced union members' criticisms of their leadership by noting some of the good things—like high wages—that the UAW has brought to those same members. While I regret any misstatements that may have occurred in the story, I feel that my central goal was accomplished: to portray the human costs of the Chrysler pullout. After all the shouting is over, isn't that what the union would want the public to remember?

Ooops!

CORRECTION TO THE CORRECTION (*ITT*, DEC. 14, 1988): Just so no one thinks I have taken leave of my senses, I do not feel the headline "A victory for trade; a loss for social programs" (*ITT*, Dec. 7, 1988) significantly misrepresented the result of the recent Canadian election. For while I did indeed write that the Conservative government could go a long way toward meeting the business community's demand for deficit reduction by introducing a series of regressive sales taxes, in the long-run there is no doubt that the re-election of the Conservatives and the implementation of the free trade agreement represents a real threat to Canada's social programs.

And in regard to a number of uncorrected editorial errors in recent articles, Winnipeg (where I live) is in the province of Manitoba, not Ontario, and the population of Quebec is closer to 6,440,000 than 16 million. No hard feelings—we all make mistakes.

Doug Smith
Winnipeg, Canada

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

By Yukinori Ishikawa

AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR OF DECLINING HEALTH, Emperor Hirohito died this month at the age of 87. The U.S. media, in its coverage of his death, focused much attention on Hirohito as a personality and failed to show his institutional—and ideological—side. An emperor's death is as institutional in meaning as is his throne.

Hirohito's 62-year reign now goes down in history as one of Japan's most turbulent eras. He underwent as radical a metamorphosis as did his country. As a living god, he embodied the Japanese nation and had more than 2 million Japanese die in his name. Then, in the nation's postwar ascent from crushing defeat to the world's second largest economy, Hirohito descended from divinity and played a catalyst role as the "symbol" of a new democratic Japan.

Tenno-sei, or the emperor system, was the key to both military calamities and postwar economic success. Before World War II the emperor legitimized expansionist policy and militarism. In the postwar years he became similarly instrumental in democratizing and reforming Japan into an economic power.

In Japanese history politics have often been legitimized by the imperial family. Imperial reign rests on the allegedly unbroken line of emperors spanning more than 2,600 years. Its power is mythological—nearly religious—in origin, and ideological when applied to national governance. Political forces have used (and abused) emperors

Hirohito: once a god, then a man, always an institution

by deifying them, by making myth after myth of the imperial divinity.

Two changes: Sweeping change took place twice in the last century and a quarter. After nearly 250 years of internal peace, Japan faced the danger of foreign conquest in the mid-19th century and opted for inter-



Japan's late Emperor Hirohito

nal reconstruction by opening its door to the outside world. The second change came in 1945 when a militarist Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers. The nation in ruins had to turn around 180 degrees.

On both occasions the role of emperor was the most crucial of factors. Emperor Meiji, Hirohito's grandfather, ascended the

throne in 1868, backed by pro-West reformers, in a move to put an end to the 265-year ruling by the Tokugawa shogunate. The imperial lineage was used to legitimize across-the-board reform in political, economic and social institutions. In the course of modernization the emperor became, in the words of historian Carol Gluck, the "vanguard of progress" (and of Westernization). The country imported everything Western from industrial and military technology to legal and educational systems.

The reactionary rise of nationalism followed the initial infatuation with the West. The 1904-05 war with Russia was a decisive turning point. It was a symbolic—and highly political—victory for Japan. That Japan advanced into the ranks of great nations was the political message, which in turn legitimized the modernization program.

The emergence of Japan as a military power posed a threat even to the Americans, who were making their way into East Asia in the early years of the century. U.S. Secretary of State Elihu Root wrote in 1906: "Japan is ready for war, with probably the most effective equipment and personnel now existing in the world. We are not ready for war and we could not be ready to meet Japan on anything like equal terms for a long period."

Yet the initial success of modernization brought into question the compatibility of progress with Japanese tradition, or that of things Western with things Japanese—in short, the problem of national identity.

The living god: *Kokutai* (national polity) is the concept of bridging modernity with tradition, the present with the past, thus providing a sort of national cohesiveness or continuity. Thus it served as the distinc-

The emperor system was key both to Japan's military calamities and economic success.

tion of the Japanese nation, and its immutability was attributed to the unbroken line of emperors. The political integration of *kokutai* and emperor gave a new twist to the emperor system. In the period after the Russo-Japanese War, the Meiji emperor was politically transfigured into a deified symbol of the Japanese race—a living god to be worshipped by his subjects.

Emperor Hirohito, born in 1901, lived the first half of his life as the bearer of the *kokutai* ideology. When he succeeded his father, the Emperor Taisho, in 1926, militarism was on the rise. Japan was already a full-fledged imperialist aggressor paving its way into China. In the name of "progress" and the "superior" Japanese race, the emperor as a socio-political institution—not in the least as an individual—only served to legitimize expansionist ambitions to control raw materials and markets in Asia.

Whether he was responsible, directly or

indirectly, for the military adventurism remains a question. In theory he could have prevented Japan from going to war against China and eventually against the U.S. In reality, though, that probably was next to impossible. For the institutional role of emperor was not to make political decisions but to formalize decisions made by cabinet ministers, generals and admirals.

In a historic move, however, Hirohito is said to have called for an end to the war after the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. Here again, according to some historians, is not that the emperor took the initiative but that Prime Minister Kantaro Suzuki, in view of the army's strong insistence to fight on, left it to him to decide whether to surrender.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the U.S. commander of the Allied occupation of Japan, saved Hirohito's life by deciding not to bring him to trial as a war criminal—against demands from the British, the Russians and others. Polls conducted immediately after the end of World War II showed that *tenno-sei* was supported by an overwhelming majority (91 to 95 percent) of the Japanese public. It was MacArthur's wisdom that kept the emperor on his throne as the unifying force of a new Japan.

Symbolic transformation: Hirohito thus survived and went through an undreamed-of transfiguration. On January 1, 1946, he went on the air and publicly renounced divinity. By this time the ideology of *kokutai* was already driven into oblivion. The emperor became humanized and the nation under the occupation quickly embraced democracy. Later that year the emperor—under the new war-renouncing constitution virtually drafted by Americans—became "the symbol of the state and the unity of people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereignty."

Stripped of divinity, the emperor continued to serve as the vanguard of progress, this time in the direction of democratization—Americanization, that is—and non-military mercantilism. Vague as it is, the institutional definition of his role is cultural and spiritual: something like a benign father in a family state. The postwar public-relations offensive of the Imperial Household Agency, a government office in charge of imperial affairs, focused on down-to-earth images of Emperor Hirohito as father, grandfather and biologist.

What he really was like as an individual did and will remain an enigma. Totally aloof, he was never known to have raised his voice even once. His public remarks were all prepared: Even in rare meetings with the media, the questions had to be submitted in advance and the emperor read his prepared answers to them. Who wrote them? We don't know for sure, but most likely bureaucrats at the Imperial Household Agency, which choreographed every move of the emperor and his family.

Thus Hirohito, who once lived like a god and then like a puppet, died a lonely man. Upon Hirohito's death his son, Akihito, became emperor. How an increasingly powerful Japan will use *tenno-sei* under a new emperor remains to be seen.

Yukimori Ishikawa was *In These Times'* correspondent in Japan and is now a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

If applicable affix your mailing label here.

I AM:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY STATE ZIP _____

☐ MOVING.

NEW ADDRESS _____

CITY STATE ZIP _____

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4 - 6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING.** Fill out your name and address above and we will have *IN THESE TIMES* with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else in your mailbox within 4 - 6 weeks. Check price and term below. **ASTN7**

☐ **RENEWING.** Do it now and keep *IN THESE TIMES* coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. Check price and term below. **ARST7**

☐ **SHOPPING.** Give an *IN THESE TIMES* gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Fill out your name and address above and name and address of recipient below. A handsome gift card will be sent. **XSTH7**

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY STATE ZIP _____

PRICE / TERM

☐ One year: \$34.95

☐ Payment enclosed

☐ Six months: \$18.95

☐ Bill me later

☐ Student, retired, One year: \$24.95

☐ Charge my VISA/MC

☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00

ACCT. NO. _____

EXP. DATE _____

Above prices for U.S. residents only. Canadian and Mexican orders add \$13 per year. All other foreign orders, please add \$33 per year.

In These Times Customer Service, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, Illinois 61054 · 1-800-435-0715; in Illinois 1-800-892-0753

Under Eastern's Eyes: The Heart of Kennedy Liberalism

Every four years, the plump and ruddy visage of Sen. Edward Kennedy appears on the nation's television screens, just as it did last summer, amid respectful commentary about the senator's symbolic role as guardian of the great traditions of FDR, the New Frontier, the Great Society, etc., etc. Amid the waning moments of the Reagan years, it is only a matter of historical justice to point out that much of the theoretical groundwork for Reagan's regulatory counterrevolution came out of Kennedy's office, and many of his former aides are now toiling profitably for one of the most unscrupulous corporations in the country.

It was in the mid- to late '70s that Kennedy's rent-a-thinkers began to tout deregulation as the answer to low productivity and bureaucratic and corporate inertia. Famous at the time was a screed by his chief counsel, Stephen Breyer, quantifying such things as environmental pollution in terms of assessable and fungible "risks," which could be bought and sold in the marketplace. (Kennedy later secured a judgeship for his former employee.)

The two prongs of the Kennedy deregulatory attack—now decorated with the political label "neo-liberalism"—were aimed at airlines and trucking, and Jimmy Carter duly installed Kennedy's man Alfred Kahn on the Civil Aeronautics Board to introduce the cleansing winds of competition into the industry. By and large, airline deregulation went down well with the press and, for a time, with the public, who rejoiced in the bargains offered by the small fry, such as People Express, and by the big fry striking back. The few critics who said that within a few years the nation would be left with five or six airlines, oligopoly and higher fares were mostly ignored.

The Home-Bound Chickens

The chickens heralded by these doom-sayers are now fluttering home to roost, and the wretched Kahn now mumbles that only another limp stick—anti-trust—periodically wagged by the Kennedy liberals can cajole the airlines into behaving themselves. Meanwhile the best and the brightest from the office of the Massachusetts senator are now making money hand over fist trying to break unions on behalf of Frank Lorenzo, the Texan entrepreneur who runs the Texas Air Corp. and its subsidiaries, Continental Airlines and Eastern.

If you had to evoke the paradigmatic amoral corporate character type of the Reagan '80s, Lorenzo or Donald Trump would probably be the creatures of choice. Lorenzo is now taking on the unions at Eastern—sold to him by the astronaut and incompetent former Eastern chief Frank Borman—with the help of a high-paid team of lobbyists and lawyers from the heartland of the Democratic Party.

Among those who have worked or who are currently working for Lorenzo are Berl Bernhard, who formerly worked for Edmund Muskie, Joseph Califano (Carter's former health chief), John Gallagher (a lawyer with Akin & Gump, Robert Strauss' law firm), former Watergate prosecutor Philip Laco-

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



© Al Brunettin

vara and, as mentioned above, a veritable coffer of former Kennedy aides. (Coffer, since you ask, means a chain of beasts or slaves. See them all the time.) These include David Boies, once chief counsel to Kennedy's Judiciary Committee and subsequently counsel for CBS in the Westmoreland libel case; Kenneth Feinberg, who was once Kennedy's administrative assistant; and David Sawyer, a political consultant and PR man who is handling advertising for Lorenzo, just as he did for Kennedy in the 1980 presidential bid against Jimmy Carter, and also for Shimon Peres in Israel.

Coordinating the effort is Philip Bakes, another Kennedy alumnus of the Judiciary Committee who was the senator's deputy campaign manager in the 1980 bid and is now nothing less than Eastern's president and CEO. Bakes won Lorenzo's admiration for the way in which the self-professed "liberal" crushed Continental's unions a few years ago, and was promoted when Lorenzo bought Eastern in 1986.

Meanwhile, two more Kennedy veterans, Paul Tully and Carl Wagner, are working on the union side. Wagner estimates that Lorenzo is spending \$2 million a month on his effort to manipulate public and bureaucratic opinion at a moment when he is asking for enormous give-backs from Eastern's workers. According to Wagner, "The number of people working for them in progressive Democratic politics is phenomenal. Tully and I are the only two they didn't get. It's going to be like a reunion when we get to court."

None of the Democrats who work for Lorenzo like their activities publicized, and were scarcely pleased when a good article in *Legal Times* noted the fact a few months ago. Today they decline to return phone calls on the subject, with the exception of Feinberg, who had no comment. The reason, of course, is their association with a notorious union-buster, which might impair their liberal credentials. Even so, they flaunt their reputed liberalism in court, where it might help Lorenzo. Boies came to one deposition shamelessly wearing an "I am a liberal" button.

The Saddest Chapter

The main reason Lorenzo's name will always reek in the nostrils of labor was his Chapter 11 bankruptcy of Continental.

Though he'd gotten \$150 million in give-backs from pilots in 1982 and was offered another \$150 million in wage and benefit reductions in 1983 from mechanics, flight attendants and pilots, Lorenzo filed for bankruptcy for Continental, declaring that this allowed him to break all existing contracts.

This was in fact a gross misuse of Chapter 11, since the intent of the law was to protect failing enterprises from creditors and bankers, not unions. On top of this, it was unusual for a firm to be declared bankrupt when it had a non-bankrupt parent, as Continental had in Texas Air Corp. But the courts upheld the bankruptcy filing, and thus Lorenzo broke the unions, fired thousands of workers and cut wages in half. Along with Reagan's dismissal of the PATCO controllers, Lorenzo's victory set the tone for cost-cutting battles of the '80s in the industry.

It should be noted that Continental—self-styled largest airline in the Free World—which pays the lowest rates in the airline business—is currently the only major carrier losing money, a \$258 million loss in 1987 and over \$150 million more in 1988. American, Delta and United, which pay about twice the wages and benefits of Continental, are all making record profits.

Lorenzo has been trying the same tactic with Eastern ever since he acquired the company. His man Bakes, installed as CEO, demanded give-backs of almost \$500 million. (Eastern's scales are somewhere in the middle of the major carriers.)

To date, Eastern's unions—the Machinists, the Air Line Pilots Association and the Transport Workers Union—have successfully resisted, offering a one-year wage freeze and modest increases of 2 percent to 3 percent a year after that. Lorenzo has not responded beyond his \$500 million give-back demand, for the very good reason that he wants a strike, which he feels he can win and then expel the unions—notably the Machinists—as he did at Continental. But to get the longed-for strike he needs help from the National Mediation Board. Strikes are forbidden in the airline industry unless the NMB states that an impasse has been reached. A 30-day cooling-off period is then declared, at the end of which time Eastern would be free arbitrarily to cut wages, thus forcing the unions to strike.

Thus far the board has held firm and much to Lorenzo's fury has refused to declare the "impasse," presumably on the grounds that Lorenzo is not interested in

serious negotiations. And this is where another famous East Coast elite "liberal" organization enters the story, in the form of the *New York Times*. In an editorial of Dec. 27 of last year, "Bureaucrats, Strangling an Airline," the *Times* warned that Eastern would be forced out of business unless the board "relents and allows the money-losing airline to confront its unions." The writer—probably the bald-pated *bon viveur* Peter Passell—left clear where his sympathies lie in the dispute, referring to the company's "well-paid mechanics and baggage handlers" and concluding that the "board had no business using its power of delay to bury Eastern." The editorial urged that if the board failed to take this advice, President-elect Bush—ardently supported by Lorenzo in the recent election campaign—should remove the board's head. Walter Wallace, for inefficiency.

Joseph Guerrieri, a lawyer for the Machinists, says that while some coverage has not been too bad—the corporate media are of course anti-labor, but dislike Lorenzo—the *Times* has long been terrible. The last time the *Times* ran an editorial on the story, Eastern reprinted it as part of their advertising.

The *Times* didn't mention Lorenzo's obvious reluctance to do any serious bargaining, and represented his sale of Eastern's enormously profitable Eastern Shuttle to Donald Trump as a move of desperation to stave off collapse. Guerrieri reckons it was part of a back-door liquidation of the airline, like the reservation system that Eastern sold to Continental for \$100 million, half of what it is supposedly worth. Eastern now rents the system from Continental for \$12 million a month. Lorenzo also transferred Eastern's Miami-London route to Continental and closed a number of hubs, the last being in Kansas City, where 4,000 jobs went down the tube.

Further proof that the shuttle's sale was not purely a financial rescue move is offered by the "Chunks" memo introduced by the Machinists. The memo was prepared by Eastern's planning department and breaks the company into units that could be sold, with each "chunk" being rated for the "shock value" the sale would have on the Machinists. Components were also evaluated by worker militancy. The sale of the shuttle, the memo gauged, would have the highest possible "shock value."

It's quite possible that Eastern will eventually be swallowed up or dismembered by Continental. The consequence upon big Eastern centers—most particularly Miami—would be grave in terms of the many thousands of jobs and secondary enterprises dependent upon Eastern. Sharing the responsibility for this carnage will be the good liberals Bakes, Boies, Sawyer and the others who have been at Lorenzo's elbow. And this has a political moral, as we embark upon the Bush presidency. It won't be long, maybe a year, maybe less, until a "liberal" standard bearer like Cuomo or some variant on the same will be stepping forward to seize the torch dropped by the wretched Dukakis. The first step toward any sort of realism about radical politics in the '90s will be the realization of just how decrepit, opportunistic, greed-sodden and downright hostile to progressive forces the "liberal" Democratic Party is. To understand this, the saga of the Kennedy apparatchiks should not be forgotten. ■

This story was prepared with the help of Ken Silverstein.

By Harvey Pekar

Civil servant Reagan faces the Pekar performance review

HI DO YOU KNOW ME? MAYBE you're familiar with my *American Splendor* comics or you've seen me hassling David Letterman on TV. Believe it or not I don't earn my living as a writer. No, I've had to do rather menial work to support myself and my succession of wives. For the past 23 years I've been employed as a low-level (GS 2, 3 and 4) federal government clerk in Cleveland. During the last eight years Ronald Reagan's been my boss; lemme tell you, he's not much of a manager.

Things've been tough for us out here in the Rust Belt lately. Well, really, they've been tough all over the country. Reagan's economic policies have been very hard on lower- and middle-class Americans. From 1947 to 1967 annual per capita real income rose 2.65 percent per year; from 1967 to 1973, the increase was 3.67 percent; from 1973 to 1979 the growth slowed to 2.03 percent; in 1979-87, it was down to 1.36 percent.

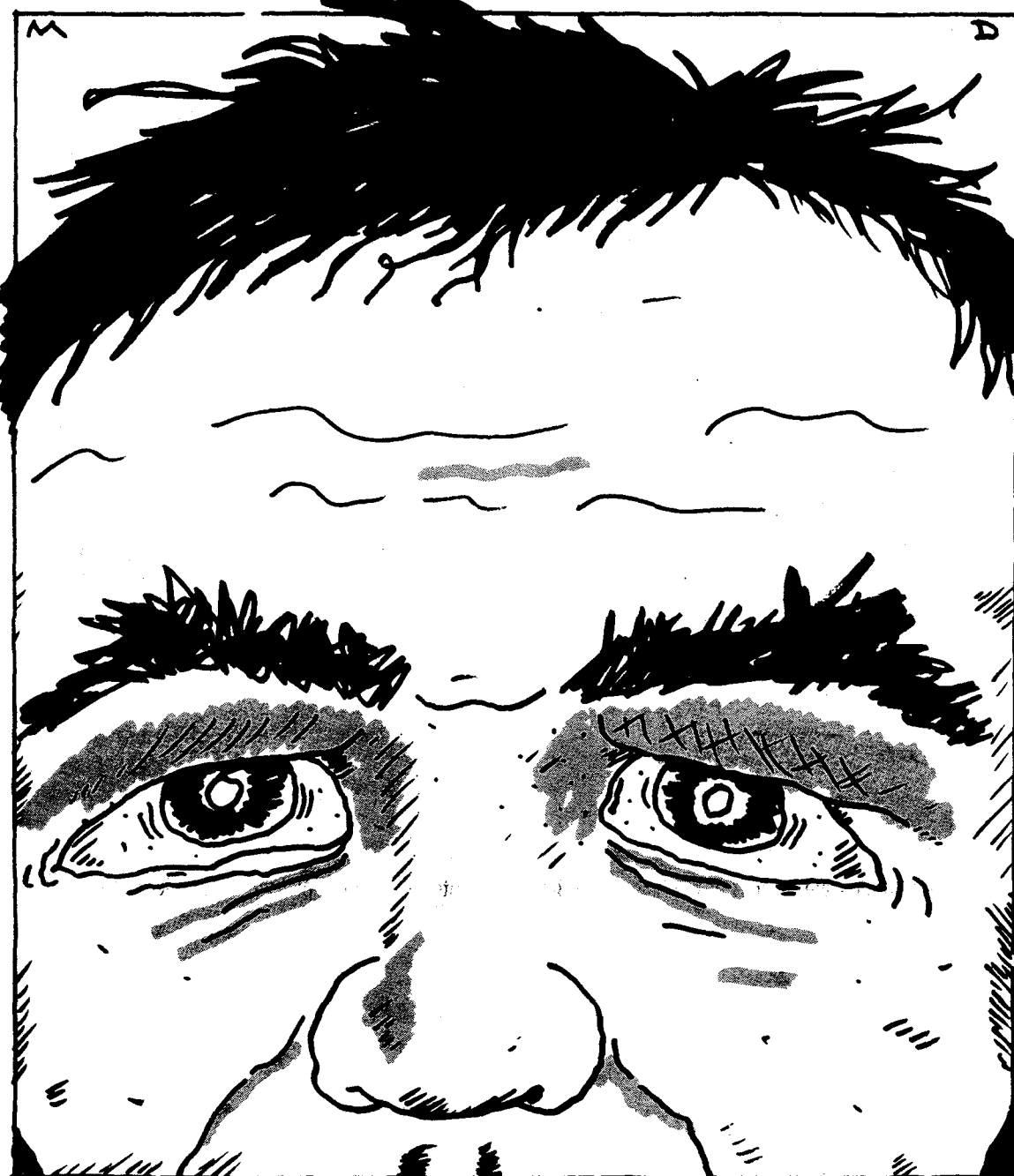
The poverty rate was 11.7 percent in 1979, in 1987 it was up to 13.5 percent. The income gap between the richest 20 percent of the population and the other 80 percent is growing. Lemme tell you, when people aren't making as much as they used to, and what is being made is more inequitably distributed, times are rough; widening gaps between classes are social dynamite. It's not too hard to find work at McDonald's in Cleveland, but those good paying steel mill and automobile plant jobs are just about gone.

Mismanagement style: Federal employees have done badly under Reagan. Since he's taken office their actual pay increases have averaged 2.66 percent per year, or below the annual increase in inflation. In other words, their wages are decreasing in real terms. They make 26.87 percent less than workers at comparable jobs in the private sector.

The guys I work with, especially those with families, are scuffling. Some have more than one job; just about all of their wives work. Like one said, "If my wife doesn't work, we get on the soup line."

Why have things been so lousy for federal workers? Well, Reagan's penny-wise, pound-foolish. He feels he has to spend an enormous amount of money on the military, which causes a huge budget deficit. To reduce the deficit a little he cuts back in other areas, such as federal wages. Federal employees can't do much about this since it's illegal for them to strike.

If Reagan were doing something constructive with this money, something that'd benefit America in the long-run, it'd be OK, but he's just wasting it. Check out his



c 1989 Miles DeCoster

foreign policy moves, for which he feels he needs the support of a huge defense establishment. In Nicaragua he's been stupidly trying to get

GOVERNMENT

Somoza's people back in power. He's not fooling anyone by calling them "freedom fighters." The insurgency is still going strong in El

have also been a disaster. He hasn't built anything on the Camp David accords. He's followed Israel's lead far too often—Israeli agent Amiram Nir is even supposed to have come up with the idea of backing the contras with profits from arms sales to Iran. The U.S. should not be helping Israeli right-wingers make another South Africa of their nation. Open talks with the PLO should've begun

And what about Reagan's 1983 blunder in Beirut when all those marines got killed by that car bomb and the U.S. subsequently "cut and ran" from Lebanon? Wonder why Ronnie didn't get a reputation as a wimp for that, or for having his bluff called by Noriega? While people go hungry, while the kids who are supposed to be running our high-tech economy of the future can't read, Reagan spends billions on weapons so he can head the baddest ass country in the world, and then he lets the tin horn Noriega humiliate him. The irony of this escapes most Americans. Teflon president is right!

Everything hasn't gone wrong for Reagan, but he doesn't deserve much credit for the stuff that's gone right. He didn't have anything to do with oil prices going down. Mikhail Gorbachov is responsible for the missile reduction agreement; he made an offer so good Ronnie had to accept. The USSR's economy is falling apart and Gorbachov realizes, unlike Reagan, that he's got to cut back on military spending, that with nuclear overkill ca-

capacity, he's not taking any big risks. But Reagan couldn't make a deal with Brezhnev, Andropov or Chernenko; they were irrational hard-liners like Ronnie is.

Let's add to this litany: Reagan's done virtually nothing about developing alternative energy sources, about the environment, about improving race relations, which are especially bad here in Cleveland. Federal property is neglected and deteriorating due to lack of maintenance, federal services will eventually suffer because competent people don't want to work for what the government pays. These are huge problems that Reagan apparently never thinks about. After him, the deluge, right?

Nixon's Boy Scouts: Reagan's not an inspiring guy to work for either, undermining democracy and our legal system with that Iran-Contra stuff. Next to his gang, Nixon's crowd looks like Boy Scouts. What do you think they'll find out if they keep looking into that October Surprise business, where Reagan is supposed to have offered the Iranians arms in return for holding the hostages until after the 1980 election to ensure his victory? Some circumstantial evidence has emerged supporting that theory.

Why do people like the guy—why is he so popular? He takes advantage of the racism and jingoism running rampant in the U.S., that's for sure. He tells white middle-class, and, I hate to say it, white working-class Americans what they want to hear, and they love it. They don't even care if he backs up his words. Reagan looked like a wimp in the Beirut and Panamanian situations but got let off the hook. When he invaded postage stamp-sized Grenada and bombed Libya people acted like they thought he was Napoleon. Nancy wants us to "just say no" to drugs while tons of marijuana and coke are being run into the country by guys on the CIA payroll, including Reagan's contras pals.

Maybe more would've realized what a terrible president Reagan was if the press did their job. But the media's becoming oligopolized, and Reagan's giving them all kinds of breaks through the FCC and in other ways, so they're not about to hurt him. And a lot of reporters are making so much money these days they think like corporation heads; they're not looking to do anything for the poor.

Ah well, what do I care? My gig's steady, that's the main thing. In six years, I'll be 55 and have 30 years in; then I can retire. Wonder what'll be left of the country in 1995? ■

Harvey Pekar is a federal employee who's always gotten "fully satisfactory" or better on his evaluations, won two outstanding awards and shows up for work in inclement weather.

If Reagan were doing something constructive with our tax money that would benefit America in the long-run, it would be OK. But he's just wasting it. Check out his foreign policy moves in Central America and the Middle East.

Salvador and the U.S. isn't winning many hearts and minds there by tolerating rightist death squads. In Panama Reagan was faced down by former CIA agent and friend of drug traffickers Manuel Noriega.

Reagan's Middle-East policies

eight years ago. It almost always makes sense to recognize a nation or political group, if only so that you can better spy on them. To refuse to recognize people you don't agree with is usually childish and counterproductive.

By Kim Lacy Rogers

CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA IS AN unlikely place for a populist publishing venture. A picturesque town in the Cumberlands, it is home to two fairly conservative institutions—Dickinson College and the U.S. Army War College. Carlisle is pretty, in an antique-ridden federalist sort of way; the majority of its residents vote Republican.

But Carlisle is where Steve Brouwer lives, and it is now the home of Big Picture Books ("A thousand words are worth a picture"). *Sharing the Pie* is Brouwer's first publication, a large, colorful paperback that documents the inequitable results of Reaganomics in clear, concise prose.

A broad base: Brouwer describes himself as an "iconoclastic Marxist" who was influenced by "a lot of the Yugoslavian Marxist writers of the '60s and '70s," particularly in the areas of worker-owned businesses and enterprises. In his native Ithaca, N.Y., Brouwer organized successful housing and business cooperatives. He has made his living as a homebuilder and designer for the last 20 years, while writing about American politics and culture as an avocation. He lives in Carlisle because his wife is a sociologist on the faculty of Dickinson College. But in a sense, Carlisle represents the audience that he hopes will read *Sharing the Pie*.

"Before I left Ithaca, I decided that it was important to start writing in earnest, and find a way to communicate the rich ideas of the left to ordinary people. A lot of the leftists only communicate with each other—academics only write for academics, and they congregate in little academic towns," he says. "In Carlisle, you have to think about language and rhetoric that will be comprehensible to average Americans." He writes in the "language of everyday life," using anecdotes of everyday life.

"If you really believe in a left perspective—that it is possible for the majority of the people to take control of their communities and the economic process—then you should try to speak to them," says Brouwer. "Because the majority of the media are shut down to those ideas because of who owns them, we lefties have an obligation to find all the small-scale ways to communicate that we can."

In his own small-scale portrait of the '80s, Brouwer paints a disturbing picture. First, he alerts readers to the increased concentration of wealth in the U.S. In 1963, the "Rich"—or the top one-half of 1 percent—owned 25.4 percent of the nation's wealth. By 1983, that figure had jumped to 35.1 percent. Not surprisingly, the percentage owned by "The Rest of Us"—the bottom 90 percent—slipped from 34.9 percent to 28.3 percent in that same period. These changes were

brought to us by the tax cuts of the early '80s, cuts intended to stimulate investment and increases in productivity. According to Brouwer, this increased concentration of wealth has produced:

"the shrinking of the 'middle class'; the increase in homelessness and poverty; the increasing concentration of power in the biggest corporations and banks; the loss of good jobs in the United States as corporations look for higher profits abroad; the vast waste in federal expenditures on our military; the inability to raise enough revenue because of the reduction of taxes on the rich and corporations; the simultaneous appearance of both a budget deficit and a trade deficit."

Mainstream stats: These are the developments that Brouwer discusses in the book's 24 pages. His statistics are drawn from sources like *The Wall Street Journal*, government publications and other mainstream sources of economic data—and they reveal the appalling consequences of the right's economic program. For example, between 1973 and 1986, average weekly earnings fell by 14.3 percent, and median household income declined by 6 percent. Between 1975 and 1987, the labor force increased from 61.2 percent

to 65.7 percent—more Americans were working for lower "real" wages. While the media celebrated the fashionable greed of the yuppie generation, "Only 4.5 million people

WEALTH

between the ages of 25 and 40 earned over \$35,000 in 1986, while 30 million earned less than \$15,000." As America's rich have become richer, the numbers of middle-income Americans have declined, as the ranks of the poor have increased—the latter from 28.3 percent in 1978 to 35.2 percent in 1986.

How did all of this happen? Brouwer holds the Reagan administration's tax policies as one culprit: "The general trend in Federal legislation has been to reverse the sys-

"The general trend in federal legislation has been to reverse the system of progressive taxation on the corporations and the rich and make working people shoulder the burden," Brouwer writes.

tem of progressive taxation on the corporations and the rich and make working people shoulder the burden," he writes. The massive tax reductions on the rich he calls "well-to-do-fare," which includes lower tax rates on corporate profits and lower maximum tax rates for the rich.

Brouwer also discusses corporate strategies that have helped to accelerate the deindustrialization of America: "merger madness" and the increasing control that large corporations have on the economy, reactionary labor policies supported by the U.S. government, and the Reagan administration's fixation on military spending that favors high-tech, capital-intensive projects. These developments, when linked to the ballooning "twin deficits" of the Reagan years, spell

a poorer, less competitive America with a heavily mortgaged future. Unless, as Brouwer suggests, we change our economic policies to favor a more equitable distribution of income.

Sharing the Pie is a powerful indictment of the Reagan years. But its real value lies in the simplicity of Brouwer's prose and his dramatic, colorful illustrations. It is literally and figuratively a Big Picture Book, which visually and verbally offers a Marxist interpretation of the economic changes in the past eight years. And Brouwer is finding a purchasing public in places at least as interesting as Carlisle: among high school social studies teachers in Los Angeles, a progressive law firm in Detroit, a steelworkers' local in Harrisburg, a Catholic seminary in Iowa and college classes in history, sociology and community studies.

Brouwer has been gratified by orders for the book. But more importantly, public response to *Sharing the Pie* tells him that "there's a vast longing out there for people to hear a left-populist message—in books, in music, in straightforward political discourse like Jesse Jackson was able to provide."

Kim Lacy Rogers teaches American history at Dickinson College.



SHARING THE PIE

Distribution of wealth in the United States is terribly unequal. A rich person, on the

In his own small-scale portrait of the '80s Steve Brouwer paints a disturbing picture of the plight of working Americans.

The economic Big Picture in graphic detail

By Mark Feinberg

ACCORDING TO THE OLD JOKE, where there's two Jews, you'll find three opinions. Until recently, however, American Jews appeared to be speaking with one, increasingly right-wing, voice.

Now there is an *intifada* of sorts led by *Tikkun* magazine: a political and spiritual uprising of left-wing Jews challenging the dominant right-wing voice of the conservative Jewish establishment. The magazine is intended as a home port for progressive Jews who don't feel fully at home either among conservative Jewish organizations or among secular progressive groups. *Tikkun's* recent New York City conference, which attracted more than 2,000 liberal participants, was a political statement, according to assistant editor Josh Henkin, that the left tradition of American Jewry is rebuilding.

Tikkun is a Hebrew word meaning to repair, mend and transform the world—"all the rest," the editors say, "is commentary." Indeed, *Commentary* magazine—Norman Podhoretz' once liberal, now neo-conservative journal—is the leading conservative Jewish voice that *Tikkun* has positioned itself against. *Tikkun's* challenge to the Jewish establishment provoked two resignations from the magazine's national editorial board. Yet the magazine has grown steadily over two-and-a-half years to a claimed circulation of 40,000.

Leftist legacy: Atop the editorial masthead is an observant Jew, Michael Lerner, who has been involved in left-wing politics since the days of the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley. Lerner, who gets up at 6 a.m. to begin reading some of the 500 manuscripts submitted to the magazine each issue, maintains that Jewish leftists are the "legitimate inheritors of the Jewish tradition." He says that Judaism's beginning in a slave revolt in Egypt 3,500 years ago "has been an inspiration for those struggling against oppression....I am sickened by many religious rightists quoting Torah to justify the unethical occupation of the West Bank."

Speaking at the conference, Lerner said that the media's portrayal of American Jewry as moving to the political right is inaccurate. Polls, he said, show that while 38 percent of Jews voted for Reagan in 1980, and 34 percent in 1984, only 29 percent voted for Bush in the last election. The one-third of conservative Jews who dominate Jewish organizations and synagogues through their financial influence "do not speak for us," Lerner says.

The conference represented a coming of age for the Jewish left, which until recent years has largely heeded conservative Jews' pleas to keep criticism of Israel out of the public forum. Since the Israeli inva-

20 IN THESE TIMES JAN. 18-24, 1989

***Tikkun*: offering a homeland for the wandering Jewish left**



sion of Lebanon—and especially with the yearlong *intifada*—left-wing Jews have increasingly challenged the conservatives' stifling of debate in the U.S. "Don't tell us what words to use," Lerner told the Jewish establishment from the podium, or "what tone we have to take in order to take part in the debate in the first place."

Abba Eban, former Israeli foreign minister, drew applause when he said, "I do not think American Jews should become the silent majority." Eban added that he disagreed with those who told progressive Jews to "keep your pockets open but your mouths shut." While Palestinian in-

tellectual Edward Said discussed issues with Jewish intellectuals like Michael Walzer, hundreds of conference participants signed on to a *New York Times* advertisement calling on Israel to negotiate directly with the PLO. Yet the *Tikkun*-led collection of intellectuals discussed more than Israel and the *intifada*. Artist Judy Chicago, novelist Howard Fast, Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA) and spiritual rejuvenator Schlomo Carlebach spoke about a wide range of secular and religious issues.

Tikkun is aimed not only at challenging the Jewish right, but also the American left. "The left has never fully faced anti-Semitism in its own

ranks," according to publisher Nan Fink. Lerner asks, for example, why the left is vocal about Israeli atrocities but is relatively quiet about the suffering caused by the Iran-Iraq war, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, and the Iraqi oppression of the Kurds.

Closer to home, *Tikkun* maintains that while the left has encouraged other oppressed groups to reclaim their history and identity, it has discouraged Jews from maintaining and cherishing their identity and heritage. "The left has forced Jews to choose between their own particular interests and the correct political line—universalism," according to publisher Fink. Left-wing Jews too readily traded in their identity for acceptance, some seemed to say, much as the "court Jews," as one speaker called the successful neo-conservative intellectuals, traded their Jewish values for acceptance by the American elite.

Michael Lerner and Nan Fink started to conceptualize the magazine in 1985—they have since married. They began publishing *Tikkun* in 1986 on a “shoestring” budget of a “couple of hundred thousand dollars.” The project has attracted the support of Jewish leftists like Irving Howe and non-Jews like Michael Harrington and Christopher Lasch. Lerner, who says that “you don’t have to be Jewish to read *Tikkun*,” claims that 20 percent of the magazine’s readership is non-Jewish. And he boasts that *Tikkun* has already become an “unbelievably influential magazine.”

The material and the spiritual:
Tikkun is not alone on the Jewish

left; it is one of several new Jewish organizations that have developed in the '80s. The New Jewish Agenda, the Jewish Peace Action Committee and *Tikkun's* own Committee for Judaism and Social Justice have arisen along with related groups more focused on rejuvenating Jewish religious and spiritual practices. The growth of the Jewish left in the '80s is not only the result of growing dissatisfaction with Israeli policies, American Jewish neo-conservatives and "spiritually dead" Jewish reli-

MAGAZINES

gious life. There has also been an increasing willingness for the progressive Jews to identify as Jews.

One of *Tikkun's* goals is to infuse the left not only with compassion for each other, but also with a concern for incorporating the ideals of compassion, community and connection into left-wing political and economic visions. On the other side, liberal religious leaders are struggling to find ways to bring politics into the Jewish community. One Manhattan rabbi said that while it was illegal to preach against voting for political figures like New York's Mayor Ed Koch, rabbis could create a "consciousness" that if a synagogue doesn't have a homeless shelter, then it's "not really a synagogue."

Some criticize *Tikkun* for being too highbrow, for being a magazine published explicitly for intellectuals. Michael Walzer, however, counters that Reagan swept into office on a wave of "new ideas" that had been percolating in right-wing think tanks for a decade. Walzer says that up to now "the left has not had that—maybe now there is the beginnings of some rethinking at the level of vision and theory, and then maybe some policy studies." ■

Mark Feinberg is a Massachusetts writer.

Theorists tripping through the rubble of the Reagan legacy

The Reagan Legacy
Sidney Blumenthal and
Thomas Byrne Edsall, editors
Pantheon, 318 pp., \$11.95

By Daniel Lazare

THE SEVEN WRITERS REPRESENTED in this collection of essays on the Reagan era strike a collective course approximately five degrees left of center. At best, the contributors show an unhealthy fear of venturing beyond the boundaries of established American political thought. At worst, they show no signs of thinking at all.

Take Robert Kuttner's essay, "Reaganism, Liberalism and the Democrats," one of the best of the lot. Anyone familiar with Kuttner's writings in *Business Week* and *The New Republic* will know that he is a lively writer and one of the last impassioned defenders of liberalism in the classic tax-and-spend mold. But he suffers from a certain fuzziness peculiar to the species. In his review of how right-wing supply-siders managed to misappropriate the mantle of Keynesianism, leaving Democrats with nothing more exciting than to call for a balanced budget, he argues that Democrats

should tax the rich, dedicate themselves to the "common people" and propose "useful, visible public works."

But what, exactly, do these words mean? Are the common people workers, small businesspeople or both? By public works, does he mean highways or mass transit? What, exactly, is useful? Kuttner never pauses to consider. He hurries on as if the answers were self-evident, when in fact they're the crux of the debate. In calling for the Democrats to return to their Rooseveltian roots, he urges them to be simultaneously more populist and more social democratic.

Yet populists are anti-"big"—anti-big business, anti-big labor, anti-urban—whereas social democrats of the northern European variety (presumably the type he has in mind) are historically pro-urban and pro-big labor. The Democrats can't be both, yet Kuttner makes it seem

as if they could. All they have to do, he seems to think, is push some of the old New Deal buttons and all questions and problems will automatically disappear.

Debt and taxes: But things are never so easy. For Democrats, the choice is not Reaganism or "the full-

POLICY

blown form of Keynesianism" of Franklin Roosevelt's third term, as Kuttner puts it, for the simple reason that the U.S. enjoyed certain key advantages in 1941-45 that it will never enjoy again. For starters, it held most of the world's capital, whereas today it is sinking ever deeper in debt. Consequently, its maneuvering room is nil, which is why, rather than moving toward soak-the-rich solutions, the Democrats are moving away. Judging from House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski's recent remarks, the party

now seems intent on raising gas taxes as a way of solving the deficit, which means taxing the working class disproportionately in order to make up for tax cuts for the rich.

Thus, instead of a left-wing alternative to Reaganism, the Democrats seem intent on outflanking the Republicans on the right. Robert Kutner ought to think again.

John Judis' sins in "Conservatism and the Price of Success" are a different matter. He doesn't go as far out on a limb in his essay as Kutner did. Instead, he seems unduly cautious. Judis, a senior editor of *The New York Times* and the author of a recent biography of William F. Buckley, describes how the right rose from a few thousand anti-fluoridation nuts under Goldwater to the vast and sophisticated network of think tanks, conservative academicians and public lobbyists of the Reagan-Bush era.

Yet, with contragate and the October 1987 stock market crash, he adds, the movement is beginning to subside. Prominent supply-side economists have fallen to squabbling among themselves over whether the Federal Reserve has tightened credit too much or too little. (Paul Craig Roberts, a former Treasury official, argues the former, while Arthur Laffer, inventor of the Laffer Curve, holds to the latter.) The rise of Mikhail Gorbachov has led to similar disagreements about whether the Soviet Union has left the totalitarian camp and entered the authoritarian (something previously held to be impossible) or whether *glasnost* is just another commie trick for pulling the wool over Westerners' eyes.

Twists and turns: Obviously, the conservative movement is losing its grip on both reality and political power. Yet the fall, Judis argues, is not likely to be as severe as some would hope. "The conservatives succeeded in strengthening and consolidating a political infrastructure...that will survive the twists and turns of electoral fortune," he writes—provided, he hastens to add, the right does not come to be "identified with a losing war or an economic depression."

There's a word for reasoning like this: tautological. The right's fortunes, Judis seems to be saying, will not suffer dramatically if political and economic conditions do not change dramatically. But what if the fundamental elements do shift? What if the budget deficit, falling dollar, corporate debt bubble, etc., lead to a downturn more on the lines of 1929-33 than 1980-82? Then, instead of entering a decline, the supply-side right would be a bubble that burst. Rather than a state of temporary eclipse, Reaganauts would find themselves on the run as Hoover-style Republicans were in the early '30s.

The only question at that point would be whether Democrats could stage a comeback or whether they would still languish in the shadows of Carter, Mondale and Dukakis. Would voters forgive the Demo-

crats their sins? Or, surveying the wreckage throughout the entire political scene, would they opt for something more extreme, either to the left or right? No one knows, of course, but nonetheless the system

Justice is always political, never neutral. Reagan has been no more ideological than his predecessors, merely clearer and more honest about his aims.

appears less stable than Judis seems to believe.

The other five essays in *The Reagan Legacy* range from the tedious (e.g. William Schneider's reading of poll results and voting trends and Thomas Byrne Edsall's analysis of shifting party alignments) to the downright silly. Sidney Blumenthal, a staff writer for the *Washington Post*, is all agog over something he calls "Reaganism and the Neokitsch Aesthetic." Unlike Nazism, Reaganism does not

try to rouse the nation through the manipulation of ancient folk images, but, he points out, seeks to lull people to sleep through the manipulation of images of the pop culture.

Rather than elevate politics to the level of the mythic, the president and his handlers have made a concerted effort over the years to lower it to the level of TV. Among the results: David Wolper's 200 Elvis look-alikes at the Statue of Liberty centennial, the Hollywoodized 1984 Olympics and made-for-TV extravaganzas like the raid on Libya. Through it all, says Blumenthal, Ronald Reagan, the old dream-spinner, made it seem as if "he had the magic to make us cry and laugh and turn us into stars."

In deep: This is fatuous. If working- and middle-class Americans allowed themselves to be taken in, their attitude was a good deal more realistic and cynical than Blumenthal gives them credit for. An example is the so-called Vietnam syndrome, the realization among the Reaganauts that, come what may, the one thing the country would never allow would be another major land war.

The president could invade Grenada and fund the contras and Afghan rebels, but if he tried to com-

mit American troops to the struggle he would be in "deep doo-doo." As soon as the body bags started arriving in serious numbers, mothers and fathers would be in the streets demonstrating to "bring the boys home." It wouldn't take years as in Vietnam, but weeks.

In other words, illusion-spinning had its limits, at least with working Americans, if not with certain writers for the *Washington Post*. If working people went along with the charade, it was not so much because they believed in Reagan's nonsense, but because it was a good show, because it stayed within safe limits (if only for them), and, most important, because they could see no alternative.

Finally, *The Reagan Legacy* offers up David Ignatius' lament over Reagan's "rejection of diplomacy" and Lincoln Caplan's handwringing over "The Reagan Challenge to the Rule of Law." Ignatius complains that Reagan's excessive reliance on military force resulted in a failure "to project American power successfully" in, of all places, Central America. But the author is much too critical.

Reagan has convinced Congress to provide El Salvador's ultra-right-wing military with billions of dollars in arms while inflicting thous-

ands of deaths and economic misery on the people of Nicaragua. These are no mean achievements. True, he hasn't succeeded in overthrowing the Sandinistas, as Ignatius, with his talk of "reversing the advance of Soviet power," would undoubtedly like. But give the GOP a chance. Perhaps Bush will succeed where Reagan failed.

Caplan, meanwhile, blames the president for politicizing the judiciary by caring more about ideology than some metaphysical quality he calls "fitness for the bench." But the idea of a non-political, independent judiciary is a liberal shibboleth. Liberals didn't believe it in the '30s, but they reversed themselves in the '40s and '50s when the Supreme Court began drifting to the left. Now they are struck with both a right-wing leaning court and the myth of an inviolate judiciary. So what is the next Democratic president to do, provided there is one? Roll over and play dead while Reagan-Bush appointees gut one program after another? Or try to bend the judiciary to his or her will? Justice is always political, never neutral. Reagan has been no more ideological than his predecessors, merely clearer and more honest about his aims. ■

Crash landing across cultural boundaries: war of the world-views

The Sykaos Papers

Thomas Byrne Edsall, editor
By E.P. Thompson
Pantheon Books, 482 pp., \$19.95

By Pat Aufderheide

ALL KINDS OF ALIENS HAVE LANDED in our pop culture since the end of World War II and its easy enemies: good ones, bad ones, some that are Bad Like Us, and some that are just different and therefore possibly nicer.

Trust E.P. Thompson, anti-nuclear activist and social historian (*The Making of the English Working Class*) to imagine an alien different from us but also human—and trust him to begin the story from the alien's point of view. In *The Sykaos Papers*, Thompson's vision of the Other acknowledges the terrors and dangers of social life conducted across cross-cultural boundaries, as well as the potential of such lifeways for enlightenment.

This is a science fiction novel at the other end of the spectrum from cyberpunk. *The Sykaos Papers* uses language not as the plastic lacquer sealing a bitter core of cynicism, but as an exemplification of our difficulties in communicating our passions, desires and even simple needs. Thompson's characters take themselves seriously as individuals in society as they strive for such old-fashioned goals as joy and social peace. The novel has its clumsy moments

and demands a certain patience to master the terms of Thompson's discourse. But it's a novel with ambition, not to make the best seller list but to make a difference in the lives of its readers.

Sykotic mission: Oi Paz is a well-programmed member of a super-organic human community which has evolved a hyperrationalized life in symbiosis with computerized technology. The Oitarians, on a dying planet, have targeted for possible colonization the planet they call Sykaos. Oi Paz is an advance scout.

A landing accident in England disables Oi Paz' internal programming, and he quickly becomes a pawn in the games Earth people play. First he's a sideshow—appropriately, as a host of a trash-TV program. Then he blunders into politics, at first quite literally. He stumbles into a reception Margaret Thatcher's holding for an African dignitary—she lectures him on open markets. Then he's interned in a secret hideaway, run more or less on the Keystone Kops model, by a joint body of Western governments. The hideaway is fraught with office politics; as usual, the servants know much more than what the higher-ups are learning from classified memos.

Oi Paz was a poet on his home planet, where poetry, like everything else, is in service to the state. But his elegiac and preprogrammed poetic sensibility cannot comprehend, much less express, what happens

when Earth ways release his sensual and individualistic side. His love affair with Helena, the anthropologist hired to analyze him, violates two planets' worth of taboos and acquaints him and Helena with the glory and pain of the non-rational in human affairs. Unfortunately, his arrival also plays into irrational and

SCI-FI

self-destructive tendencies of Earth's political organizations.

The novel's end reveals Thompson's tempered pessimism. It is also a sober comment on the twin perils of rationalism at all costs and of instinct unchained. Thompson doesn't think the odds for survival are good. But he thinks it's worth trying to beat them, with such tools as love, laughter and poetry.

Pastiche: The novel is written, appropriately for the postmodern era, in a pastiche style: part memoir, part mock-documentation, part diary, part poetry, to be recomposed by the reader as narrative. The tale as intended by Oi Paz is modeled on Western travelers' accounts of voyages to the antipodes, and particularly captivity narratives.

The novel's subtitle is the first clue: "Being An Account of the Voyages of the Poet Oi Paz to the System of Strim in the Seventeenth Galaxy; of his Mission to the Planet Sykaos; of his First Cruel Captivity; of his Travels about its Surface; of the Man-

ners and Customs of its Beastly People; of his Second Captivity; and of his Return to Oitar." This familiar form allows the reader to see Earth from the scientific colonialist perspective with which so many Westerners have approached their pursuit of the Other.

But because Oi Paz' conscious controls go awry when he lands, the informational detritus from his environment is logged on to the system, breaking through the smugly sober Oitarian narrative. Interspersed with his recordings are Helena's diary and the cruelly judgmental notes of the Oitarian authorities. (The authorities uncannily resemble stuffy academics.) The reassemblage requires the reader both to adduce character and context from the fragmentary evidence and also to contemplate the fragility of human communication. It demands an interest in the power of language itself to shape and misshape us, since Thompson's choice of presentation limits a traditional psychological involvement with novelistic characters until well into the novel. And at times it calls for a sense of humor: Thompson sometimes buries his jokes, but they're good ones.

For those with an appetite for adventure—and those who lack it are discouraged from living in the 20th century—this has to be the science fiction novel of choice. *The Sykaos Papers* is the work of someone for whom historical understanding and political action is not the goal, but the means to a more fully human future and, perhaps most important, present. ■

Racism

Continued from page 9

government endorsed the concept with the promise of "40 acres and a mule" to newly freed slaves.

When the U.S. agreed last August to pay reparation to Japanese-Americans who were interred in concentration camps during World War II, it reaffirmed the legitimacy of the notion. For blacks, who not only were hapless captives but also totally stripped of cultural identity during the years of codified slavery—from 1619 to 1865—the damage was far more debilitating than was the inhumane imprisonment of Japanese-Americans. No reparations program for former slaves has ever been enacted.

White pride: But even more than that, such an acknowledgement of debt would help explain the difference in relative positions of this country's blacks and whites to many of those youths who have come of age

during the Reagan era. Without any grounding in this country's racist history many of these young people think of affirmative action—and other meager attempts to atone for centuries of official racist oppression—as reverse racism.

The seeds of this ignorance are sprouting across the U.S. One of the fastest growing musical movements in the U.S. these days is the skinhead "oi" movement. This is music with a message that thrashes non-whites and Jews as it celebrates white pride. As an excellent, if depressing article in a recent edition of *Rolling Stone* makes clear, skinheads rapidly are becoming the shock troops of the racist right.

While it can be argued that skinheads are products of the economically insecure lower classes, similar trends are discernable in the haunts of the upper classes. White student unions, espousing a doctrine of "white pride," for instance, are springing up on college campuses across the country. And tra-

ditional white fraternities on several campuses have been suspended for conducting activities with racist overtones.

When questioned about their activities many of these white students say they are angered by what they perceive as preferential treatment for minorities. They see African-Americans forming black student organizations and benefiting from affirmative-action admittance policies and don't understand why white students should be prevented from reaping similar benefits.

Since most of these white youths lived their formative years during the Reagan era, their negative assessment of affirmative action should be no surprise. Reagan's right-wing policy-makers and propagandists have successfully reversed the notion that white America should atone for centuries of codified racism. Young whites thus feel strongly that America owes nothing special to its citizens of African descent. The corollary argument that blacks have become too

dependent on governmental assistance has gained a wide consensus. But that change—its perverse truth notwithstanding—no longer intimidates black theorists who, like Cruse, are awed by the mammoth dimensions of the problem.

Says Princeton's Nest, "The attempt to make government responsible to disadvantaged citizens is an idea that will never go away in the modern world. It's inescapable, and corporations adopt the same idea when they feel themselves to be disadvantaged. That's why Chrysler was bailed out. The problem is that over the last 20 years the programs we've designed haven't been good enough, partly because they were compromises that still allowed for corporate domination of the economy and government, while providing a certain welfare for the poor. Our challenge is to come up with better programs that are more effective."

Black agenda conference: Karenga says that although the movement is effectively moribund, significant discussion is taking place on many levels about how it can be revived. "I just returned from a leadership retreat in Miami where several black thinkers came together in a dialogue about our problems. We're all talking about a national approach, a political initiative. Being a cultural nationalist, of course, I emphasized the cultural dimension of value orientation and building black institutions."

On December 19 Jackson's NRC organized a gathering of civil rights luminaries to forge new strategies for the '90s. The group decided to organize a full-fledged "National Black Agenda" conference scheduled for March 3 in Washington, D.C. During the December conference Jackson also announced that his Operation PUSH recently signed an agreement with Ford Motor Company, designed to increase black-owned dealerships and boost spending among African-American suppliers' firms.

The organization has signed similar agreements with many major corporations, and by announcing the Ford pact Jackson was indicating he intended to push forward on his "tradism" agenda. This strategy targets major corporations with large black consumer bases and demands they increase black hiring and more fully utilize black-owned support services, or face consumer boycotts.

"Boycotts will be used more in this coming season," Jackson told a press conference following the December meeting. "The private sector will not be motivated by government policies alone. Whenever we've made progress, it's always been a result of a combination of boycotts and direct action, litigation as well as legislation."

According to conference participants, the subjects targeted for discussion during the upcoming March conference include: economic and political empowerment, crime, drugs, health care, education, the "cultural integrity of African-Americans" and problems within African-American families.

This rush of new activity indicates that black leadership understands the urgency of the problem and is attempting to jump-start the movement. It's also a signal that Jackson intends to use the NRC's auspices to spearhead extrapolitical efforts. How well African-Americans progress on the rocky road toward racial justice still is dependent on the initiatives undertaken by the cluster of interests known as the black movement.

However, since its becoming increasingly clear that this entire nation will pay the price if blacks fall by the wayside, society has a stake in helping to pave that road. □

Enclitic

"The Timely Taken Seriously"

Founded 1976

A publication which brings to print the writing on politics, ideas, and cultural life that discusses what is happening now. Thoroughness without myopia; timeliness without sensationalism.

Fall/Winter 1988 Issue:

Paul Krassner speaks about the reasons for reviving *The Realist* in 1985, the first underground magazine founded in 1958 and lasting until 1974. He talks about the social and political changes he experienced over the past three decades, and the cultural climate of late 80s America. Kate Braverman delivers a recent version of her concern with what it is like to be a writer in L.A. Fresh from the success of her 1988 novel, *Palm Latitudes* (Simon and Schuster), she weaves a tale of someone caught between the need to survive daily life, and transcending it through creative expression. Dennis Hopper bares his history of productive dementia on and off screen at this point in the midst of his return to the limelight. He talks about his movie roles in evolution from the 1950s through his recently completed film now in post-production, and presents his views on the world he has passed through and what the future might bring. Paul Skenazy offers a literary and cultural eulogy on Raymond Carver's life and work. He talks about Carver's last published book before his untimely death, and his accomplishments throughout a career in mastery of the art of the short story. J. Hoberman essays the social resonance of *Colors*, the recent film by Dennis Hopper, and the contribution this filmmaker has made over the years to the genre of films about youth. Film critic at the *Village Voice*, he brings together what he is best known for: movie criticism and social commentary. Keyan Tomaselli and Mewa Ramgobin discuss the current state of Apartheid in South Africa. Active in the resistance movement in that country, they show how cultural policies have reinforced racial division and assured the continuation of violence. They call for the revival of the spirit of the "Freedom Charter." Richard Meltzer pens another in his series of unclassifiable fictional essays on the nature of life-styles in the 80s. Basking in the glory of his recent *LA is the Capital of Kansas* (Harmony Books, 1988), he lives up to his reputation as one of the most original social critics writing today. Allen Cohen investigates the psychological complexities of the mentality of social and political awareness. Activist and essayist, as well as founding editor of the momentous 1960s publication, the *San Francisco Oracle*, he delivers a succinct and timely assessment of the idealist political conscience, its contradictions and fragilities. Tommy Lasorda unveils the secret of the magic propelling the Dodgers beyond themselves during the 1988 Baseball season in a critical interview that serves to psychoanalyze the peculiarities of this particular sport, its status as a media form and dispenser of fundamental American values, and as a pleasurable vehicle of mass culture. Demetria Martinez gives us a lyrical reminiscence of what the meaning of the recent New Mexico "sanctuary case" was all about. Journalist, poet, activist from Albuquerque, she tells us about the ramifications of this case for concerns with a free press, and her role in the whole process all the way through her acquittal. And more...

Forthcoming:

Work on and of Benjamin Barber, Robbie Conal, Michael Ventura, Don De Lillo, J. Hoberman, Norman Mailer and others.

Subscriptions: \$16 per year for four issues (\$18 outside the U.S.); \$25 for eight issues (\$28 outside the U.S.).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

enclitic
PO Box 36098
Los Angeles, CA 90036-0098

HELP WANTED

Small Progressive Labor Union in open shop state seeks **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**. Must have experience in negotiations, contract enforcement, organizing and staff supervision. Diverse membership in public employment, health care and building maintenance. Great opportunity. Send resume to: Search Committee, SEIU Local 205, 1313 Woodland St., Nashville, TN 37206.

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible job opportunities. Subscribe to the only monthly nationwide listing, covering peace & justice, civil rights, unions, consumer advocacy, organizing, social work and more. \$9.50 issues. **COMMUNITY JOBS**, Box 1029, 1516 P St. NW, Washington, DC 20005.

NATIONAL MOBILIZATION for Survival seeks full-time **PROGRAM STAFF PERSON** to carry out national program plus administrative work. Minimum three years peace and justice organizing experience required. Benefits. Salary: \$18,000. Resume to: MFS, 45 John St., Suite 811, New York, NY 10038.

UNION FIELD REPRESENTATIVES, SEIU Hospital and Health Care Workers' Union, Local 250. Dynamic, growing 29,000-member union seeks skilled, energetic field staff for 5 Northern California locations. Duties include negotiating contracts, building steward systems, leading internal and external campaigns, grievance handling and more. Experience as steward, field representative and/or organizer in health care desired, but all applications welcome. Women and minorities especially encouraged to apply. Send resume, including references to: Shirely Ware, Secretary-Treasurer, Hospital and Health Care Workers' Union, Local 250, 240 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94102.

UNION ORGANIZER. The ILGWU is looking for an organizer to join our Connecticut staff. Women and Spanish-speakers encouraged to apply. Good pay and benefits. Contact Danny Perez, CT ILGWU, 12 Orange St., New Haven, CT 06510 (203) 562-2191.

C L A S S I F I E D S

LABOR EDUCATION: DIRECTOR of the Institute for Labor Studies, University of Missouri-Kansas City/Longview Community College, Equal Opportunity Employers. The Director works to develop, promote and teach in a wide variety of courses of value to the labor movement and administer all aspects of the program. Please write for position announcement to Search Committee, ILS, 500 Longview Rd., Lee's Summit, MO 64081.

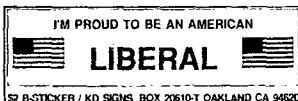
POLITICAL ACTION DIRECTOR for large, progressive Midwest union. Applicants should have experience in leadership of political campaigns or in directing political program of labor, community or non-profit organization. Good writing and speaking skills required. Lobbying experience desirable. Salary negotiable. Excellent benefits. Respond to: Classifieds, ITT-RL, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS - "The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months \$1. 1 year \$4. The People (ITT), P.O. Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

LEARNING TO DEAL WITH CUBA—a NATION special issue exploring Castro's revolution at 30 and the prospects for normalized U.S.-Cuba relations. Highlighted by George Black's firsthand report on Cuba in the age of Gorbachov.



Bulk orders: 1-49 copies, \$2 each; 50 or more, \$1 each. **THE NATION**, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

AMERICAN ATHEIST. For a sample copy of the magazine, send \$1 to: American Atheist, G.H.Q., P.O. Box 140195, Austin, TX 78714-0195.

THE LEGAL RIGHTS of Union Stewards, by union attorney Robert M. Schwartz. 160 pages. Indispensable for Union representatives and activists. \$8.95 plus \$1.00 shipping. Work Rights Press, Suite 133310 Franklin St., Boston, MA 02110.

THE MATCH! Internationally acclaimed journal of atheistic anarchism. Two dollars per issue. Available from Fred Woodworth, P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, AZ 85722.

Finally, Abbie Hoffman is selling out! Spread the word: **STEAL THIS BOOK** is back on the street! **STEAL THIS BOOK** (1971 reprint-new intro.) \$7.95*; **STEAL THIS URINE TEST** (1987) \$5.95*; **SQUARE DANCING IN THE ICE AGE** (1983) \$8.95. *Add \$2 for handling/postage per book. Send checks m.o. (no cash) to: Contemporary Classics, P.O. Box 15, Worcester, MA 01613. Call (617) 753-5418. Ask brother Jack for more info. (Bulk rates available.) **WOODSTOCK NATION NEXT!**

CASA NICARAGUENSE DE ESPAÑOL

All Nicaragua is a school!

A SPANISH LANGUAGE, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL STUDY CENTER IN MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

- Study Spanish four hours daily at all levels
- Live with a Nicaraguan family
- Meet with representatives from government institutions and mass organizations
- Visit cooperatives, community projects and attend cultural events
- Travel to different regions of Nicaragua
- 2- to 8-week year-round sessions

For more information send S.A.S.E. to: CNE, 2330 W. Third St., Ste. 4 Los Angeles, CA 90057 (213) 386-8077

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL—\$5, Abelard, Box 5652-J, Kent, WA 98064 (Details: SASE).

JEWISH CURRENTS, January 1989 issue. "Yossi Sarid: 'Peace is Within Reach,'" editorial; "Right Wing vs. Jewish Liberalism," David Hacker; "Roland Rapoport, Lawyer Against Barbie," Judith Keller; "Modern Yiddish Poetry in English," Rakhmiel Petz. Single issue: \$1.50 plus 75¢ postage. Subscription: \$15 yearly (USA). **JEWISH CURRENTS**, Dept. T, Suite 601, 22 E. 7th St., NY, NY 10003.

EDUCATION

QUAKER, coeducational 9-12 boarding school. 500 students, over 20% Black, Hispanic and Asian, over 6% international. College Preparatory curriculum at four levels: skill-based through Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate. Required arts and commun-

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free: 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

SHARING THE PIE



—by Steve Brouwer

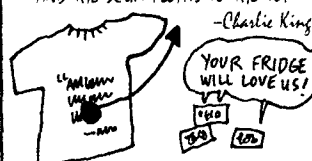
"A Disturbing Picture of the U.S. Economy in the 1980s"—This unique, colorful picture book tells the story of increasing inequality and economic decline in the Reagan and Bush years.

"I appreciate especially its clarity and attractiveness. It needs to get into the hands of teachers, students, and the general public." —Harry Magdoff
"Tells how the rich live off the rest of us. Well documented and beautifully illustrated. An enlightening gift for a friend." —Michael Parenti

\$6 per copy. Big Picture Books, P.O. Box 909, Carlisle, PA 17013

Postcards and T-Shirts for the Overqualified!

"AMERICA IS LIKE A MELTING POT—THE PEOPLE AT THE BOTTOM GET BURNED AND THE SCUM FLOATS TO THE TOP"



Philosophy, psychology, cats, American Leftists (gulp!) and much more lampooned by Jennifer Berman.

For your almost free catalog of goodies, please send 75¢ in stamps to: Humerus Cartoons • Jennifer Berman P.O. Box 6614 • Evanston, IL • 60204-6614

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

Word Rates:

80¢ per word 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word 3-5 issues
65¢ per word 6-9 issues
60¢ per word 10-19 issues
50¢ per word 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$28 per inch 1 or 2 issues
\$26 per inch 3-5 issues
\$24 per inch 6-9 issues
\$22 per inch 10-19 issues
\$20 per inch 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Ad deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Send to:

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

ity service. Recent programs in USSR, Europe, China, Tanzania and Cuba. Contact: Admissions Office, Box A, George School, Newtown, PA 18940. (215) 968-3811.

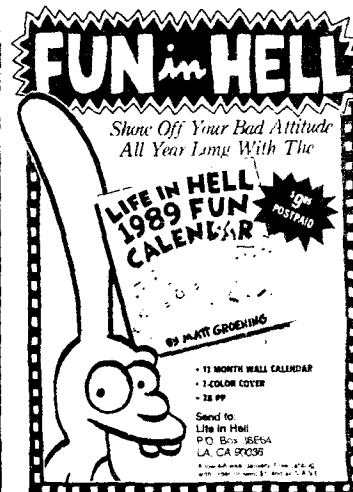
PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links left singles, nationwide. Free sample. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

NATIONWIDE SINGLES PHOTO MAGAZINE. Send name, address, age. Send no money. Exchange, 1817 Welton, #1580-BA, Denver, CO 80202.

ORGANIZATIONS

PROGRESSIVE RURAL COMMUNITY seeks neighbors, communards, radicals, politically motivated people. PIA, P.O. Box 837, Gainesboro, TN 38562.



CALENDAR

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

OMAHA

January 27-29

Vine Deloria Jr. keynote address, author of *Custer Died for Your Sins*. Resource people and activists from all over the country gather in Nebraska for a conference on land tenure ownership. Native American, Chicano, White farmer, Black and international land issues to be addressed. Contact Peggy Folsom at (402) 453-0776 for more information and brochures.

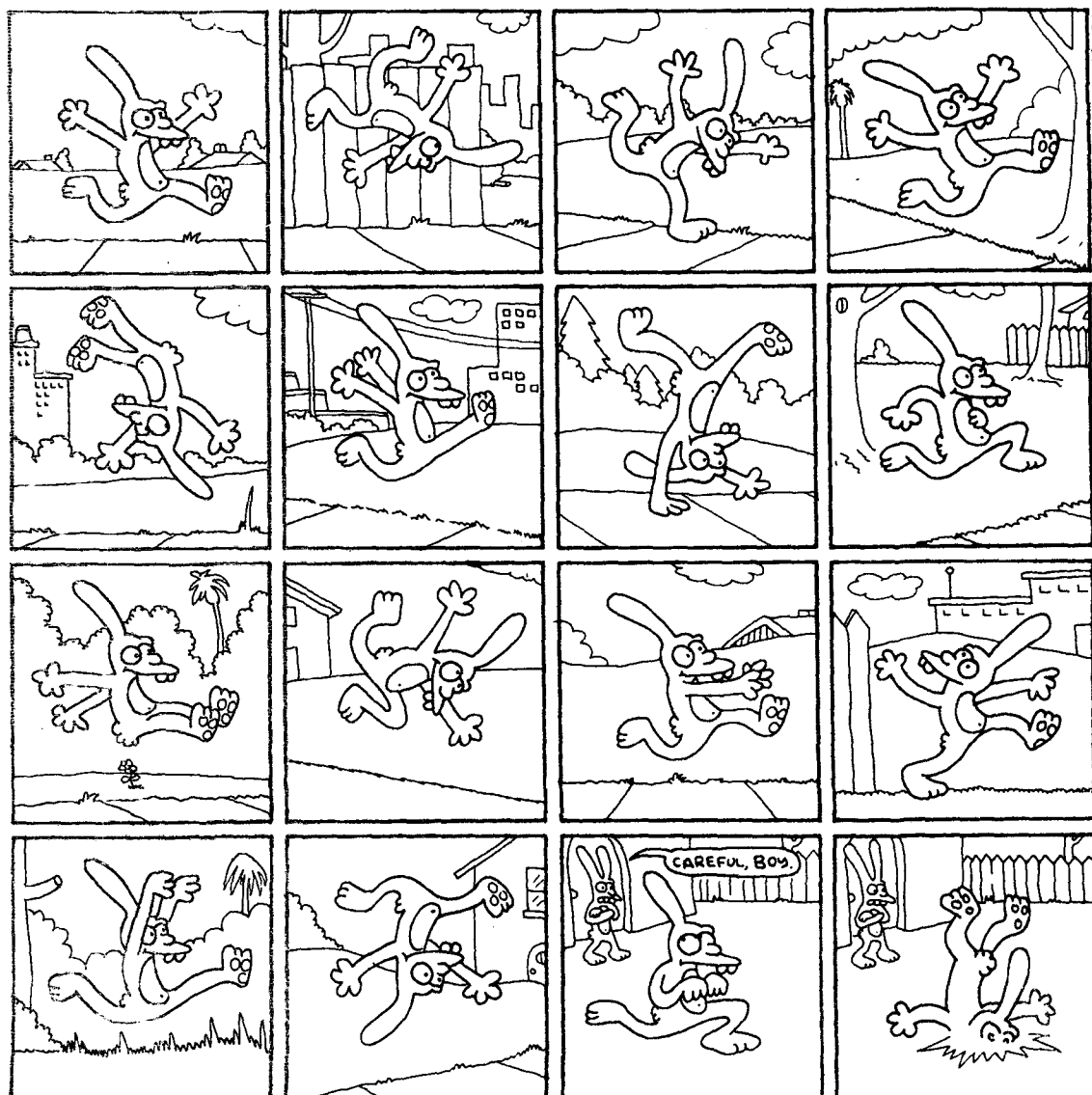
CHICAGO

January 28

Book Party to celebrate publication of *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, containing two of her most important philosophic writings, on Saturday, January 28, 6 p.m. at Newman Center, UIC, 700 S. Morgan, Chicago. \$5.00 admission includes copy of book, international refreshments and presentation by Peter Wermuth. For more information, contact News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, #707 (312) 663-0839.

LIFE IN HELL

©1989 BY MATT GROENING



American

National Anthems

By Dennis McIntyre

Directed by Arvin Brown

Long Wharf Theatre, New Haven

By Margaret Spillane

THE NEW YORK THEATER COMMUNITY—PRESS, professionals and playgoers alike—has always treated New Haven's Long Wharf Theatre as one of its own. And why not? Through the '70s and early '80s it was a place to view the best of new naturalistic drama from throughout the English-speaking world: Athol Fugard's earlier plays, David Storey's dramas of English working-class life, Edna O'Brien's rural Irish conflicts. But in the past few seasons, Long Wharf has seemed to be playing to please its subscription holders from posh Fairfield County, with schedules completely dominated by witty little contemporary drawing-room comedies and fancy remakes of American dinosaurs like *Our Town* and *Dinner at Eight*.

But if their recent production of *National Anthems* is any indication, then it's surely time to scrap the Long Wharf's reputation as Masterpiece Theater with ushers. It's a play as eloquent about America in our time as *Death of a Salesman* was for an earlier generation.

National Anthems starts with a bang: the voice of Bob Seger blasting out of a superb home stereo system. "Back in '55 we were makin' Thunderbirds." Handsome young attorney Arthur Reed is relaxing to the sounds while his wife Leslie tidies the magnificent living room around him. It's 1 a.m., and the Reeds have just said goodbye to the first party guests they've entertained in their new home—a crowd of young professionals like themselves. Suddenly there's a knock on the door. It's Ben Cook, a neighbor they haven't met yet: he's come not to complain about the music, but to get himself invited in for a chat.

Staggering human cost: Not since George and Martha had 2 a.m. cocktail guests in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* has a late-night visit uncovered so many frightening home truths. Before Ben departs from the Reeds' luxurious new home, the three have detonated a whole landscape full of mines—the secret, unsalved agonies of childhood and married life.

But more than anything else, *National Anthems* demonstrates the staggering human cost of our country's present economic agenda. For all the current jokes about the yuppie as a ruthlessly competitive, conspicuously consuming workaholic, that style has nonetheless become the standard by which achievement in today's society is measured. Ben, who occupies a humanity-serving profession traditionally esteemed in his working-class background, finds himself ground under the wheels of a system that considers his outlook incompatible with its cost-benefit analyses.

The affluent suburb where *National Anthems* is set is Birmingham, Mich., right outside of Detroit—and that setting is crucial. When Ben



Kevin Spacey, Mary McDonnell and Tom Berenger wrestle with the demons of creeping yuppification in *National Anthems*.

American

surveys the Reeds' possessions—Swedish stereo system, Italian furniture, German car, Danish beer—he remarks cautiously, "You people don't happen to have anything American around here?" No other city in America experienced such swift and widespread devastation by American jobs exported abroad. No labor force has suffered such "blame the victim" denunciations as have Detroit's auto workers: they, not corporate decision-makers, have been indicted for the loss of the preeminence of the American auto industry. And in no American city has the paranoid urge to "white flight" been so sudden and comprehensive. Playwright McIntyre is a careful listener: Arthur expresses his racism with a nonchalant, breezily unapologetic style very specific to suburban Detroit.

An acquired taste: *National Anthems* also astutely examines the new terms upon which social climbs are made. In the past the nouveau riche were thought to demonstrate their hidden vulgarity by the zeal with which they acquired possessions. Today there's nothing unseemly at all about insatiable conspicuous consumption—provided, like Arthur and Leslie, your endless acquisitions are in exquisite taste.

How surprising, then, to learn that Ben, Arthur and Leslie share the same working-class roots. When irrational high school football rivalries ignite between the two men, Arthur, in his \$1,900 Giorgio Armani suit, insists on a game of tackle football right there in the Reeds' gorgeous living room. At first the game seems to declare their masculine common ground; instead, it turns out to be another demonstration of how our culture rewards cunning and punishes idealism.

I wish McIntyre had dug so deeply into Leslie's psyche. Although we're shown some reasons that she's made broad compromises in order to gain prosperity and escape her modest, disappointing family history, she mostly exists to say, "Oh no! Please don't!" when the boys start threatening each other. Surely a script that so effectively explores the damages done by race and class discrimination could spare a few insights into how gender figures in.

Still, neither Mary McDonnell's Leslie nor Tom Berenger's Arthur exist just as easy yuppie targets for working-class wrath: both give performances full of charms and vices and contradictions rolling beneath their secure skins. Berenger may at first seem an odd choice for the role of Arthur. As

National Anthems:

playing the essential dissonance of modern American life.

the play opens, Arthur's whole presence is shaped by his beautifully cut suit: verticle, precise, unmuscular—his body looks like a ruthless corporate weapon and his detached, atonal voice accommodates the look. But as the conflicts heat up, the suit starts coming apart and Berenger's tongue races easily into the flip, pissed-off street language of Arthur's own urban youth.

Kevin Spacey's Ben is a motor-mouthed marvel in the first act, but in the second half he's even more astonishing as a man in grave psychological danger, valiantly trying to stay afloat.

Of the three first-rate performances, McDonnell's is the most amazing. Without benefit of the rich material the script affords both males, McDonnell's Leslie transcends the thinness of the role as written, moving swiftly and deftly over the difficult landscape of her own conflicting aspirations. In the last scene McDonnell's expression contains the sum total of these contradictions, her beautiful face a taut mask of psychic pain.

All in all, *National Anthems* may be director Arvin Brown's most nuanced and imaginative work in years. It is a play destined to endure well beyond its Long Wharf run.

Margaret Spillane writes about theater for the New Haven Independent.

tune